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HON WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
HON. WM. E. GLADSTONE

CONTAINING A

Full Account of the Most Celebrated Orator and
Statesman of Modern Times

COMPRISING THE

GRAPHIC STORY OF HIS LIFE; HIS BRILLIANT GENIUS AND
REMARKABLE TRAITS OF CHARACTER; GRAND
ACHIEVEMENTS AS A LEADER AND PRIME
MINISTER; HIS MAGNIFICENT TRI-
UMPHS IN GREAT POLITICAL
STRUGGLES, ETC.

A NOBLE EXAMPLE TO ALL ASPIRING
YOUNG MEN

INCLUDING

HIS FAMOUS SPEECHES AND ORATIONS; STRIKING INCIDENTS IN
HIS CAREER; PERSONAL ANECDOTES, REMINISCENCES, ETC.

BY D. M. KELSEY

Author of "Gems of Genius," "Pioneer Heroes and Their Daring Deeds," Etc.

Embellished with a large number of Superb Phototype and
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PREFACE.

NO other Englishman of the past or the present has been more popular in this country than Mr. Gladstone. This feeling in his behalf does not spring altogether from an admiration for his intellectual abilities, or the broad and statesmanlike views entertained by him. Nor has it arisen only from sympathy with the liberality of his opinions. It is rather traceable to a sincere respect for his capacity for growth. We might easily elaborate this proposition by historical references; but the field is too broad for thorough inspection at the present moment, and a cursory glance would be worse than useless.

Believing that it is this quality which has made him not only respected, but worthy of respect, it has been the aim of the writer to trace the progress, year by year, from the most pronounced Toryism to an equally positive Liberalism. At the same time there has been no effort made to fit the facts to the theory, as is sometimes done under similar circumstances, for the simple reason that nothing of the kind was necessary.

There are a number of biographies of Mr. Gladstone, of more or less value, to which the writer begs leave to express indebtedness. Chief among them is the careful work of Mr. G. B. Smith, in whose two large octavo volumes there is almost everything needful. A "London Journalist" contributes another biography, which has not, however, been brought down later than the second administration of its subject; the same limitation is applicable to the volume of Mr. G. R. Emerson. Mr. C. W. Jones' little volume is an admirable one as far as

it goes; and Mr. Lucy's merit in connection with this subject is too well known for comment to be necessary here. It is to be regretted that his book contains no more matter than an average magazine article.

In addition to these biographies, there has been frequent consultation of works of a less special character. "The Gladstone Government," by a Templar; T. P. O'Connor's "Gladstone's House of Commons," and Justin McCarthy's "England Under Gladstone," will at once suggest themselves. But in addition to these there should be specified the Rev. W. N. Molesworth's "History of England Since 1830," and others of like character. Cooke's "History of Party," McCarthy's "Epoch of Reform," and several memoirs of the time, have been used in writing of the Reform Bill of 1832; and there has been careful reference to special biographies of Sir Robert Peel and others of similar importance in the narrative.

The tone of these works has been so uniformly kind and admiring that Louis J. Jennings' work, "Mr. Gladstone: a Study," has perhaps been invaluable as giving the extreme view of the other side of the question.

The writer has also studied, in this connection, Mr. Gladstone's own writings, both in the "Gleanings of Past Years" and elsewhere.

Many points of interest have been drawn from the periodicals,—daily, weekly, and monthly. All of the leading American publications have been made to contribute something; while *Temple Bar*, the *Times* and other London dailies, and the London illustrated weeklies, may be named in the same connection. Of course the whole thread of the latter portion of the narrative is drawn from the newspapers, since the biography is complete up to the time of issue.

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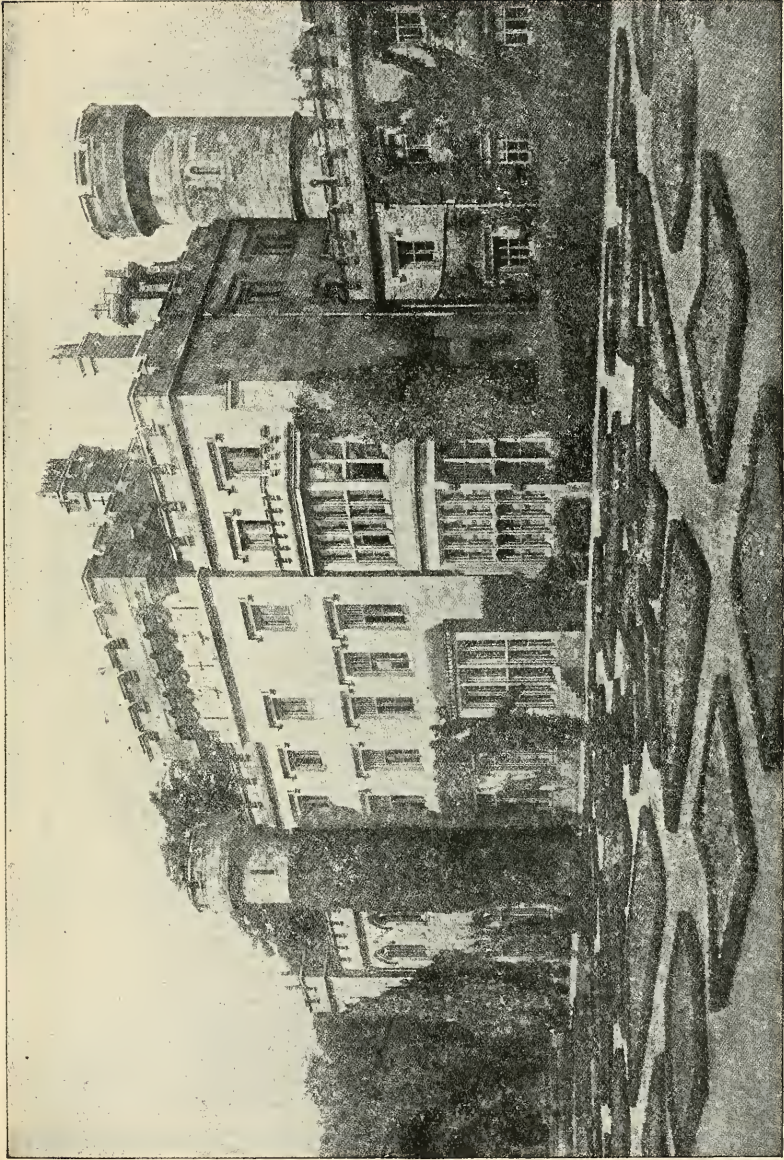
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HAWARDEN CASTLE—MR. GLADSTONE'S RESIDENCE

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE.

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRY AND EDUCATION.

Napoleon and Wellington—Great Public Questions—Family of the Gladstones—
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Early Promise of Great Distinction.

AT the close of the year 1809 Napoleon was at the very sum-
mit of his glory. Austria and Russia were in terror of his
name; Italy and Spain were his submissive dependents;
his own France looked at him with adoring eyes; Prussia
had been crushed to the earth; Sweden had chosen one of his gener-
als as the heir to her crown; Greece had no separate existence,
but was merely a province of Turkey; England alone preserved
her independence of thought, feeling and action.

But though England sturdily held her own, she was not unim-
pressed by the power of the conqueror. She had felt the weight
of his iron hand, but had shaken it off. The council of Berlin
had endeavored to cripple her resources by shutting the ports of
Europe to her ships. Had the measure been carried out, the effect
would indeed have been ruinous to England; but the thing was
impracticable; and, one after another, the various countries found
that they must connive at the violation of this article of the treaty.
Meanwhile, the English armies were in the field, headed by that
very Duke of Wellington, then simple Sir Arthur Wellesley, who
was to be the final victor in the great struggle.

George III. was king of England, and in possession of as much
mind as nature had chosen to give him; he had been insane at
more than one time before this, but had recovered; and had not
yet sunk into that long period of imbecility from which only

death delivered him. The Duke of Portland was Prime Minister; the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, so important a minister in this time of war, was George Canning, the fame of whose eloquence had gone through the land ten years before.

Besides the measures relating to the war, which of course occupied the thoughts of all men to the exclusion of much which would otherwise have claimed their attention, there were two questions of importance that at this date were continually forcing themselves into prominence; these were the slave-trade, of which we shall have more to say hereafter, and Catholic Emancipation—a sub-division of that great Irish Question which has



George Canning.

been a cause of perplexity to English rulers and their advisers since the days of Henry II. The most ardent and best known advocate of this latter measure was no other than the disciple of Pitt, who had been so active an assistant to the government which had passed the Irish Act of Union in 1800; and the name of Canning is indissolubly linked with the memory of this act of long-delayed justice. We hardly realize the severity of the laws

against the communicants of the Church of Rome, as they existed at this period, in what we are accustomed to regard as the most enlightened and liberal country of Europe; excluded from every office of trust, civil or military, they could not make their grievances known to the legislature, for every member of that body, whether of the Lords or the Commons, must, before taking his seat, take such oaths as were impossible to a Catholic. Their only hope was in the generosity of their enemies; and of these, Canning was the first, after Pitt had been obliged to break his promises to them, to urge their claims.



GATEWAY FROM HAWARDEN RECTORY TO THE CHURCH

In times of peace, the thoughts of the wise statesman and the prudent citizen turn to the improvements which it is possible to make in the condition of the country or the race; in times of war, the same men are only anxious to preserve the advantages which have already been obtained. To apply this axiom to English politics and political parties, men incline to Conservatism in war and Liberalism in peace. Those who are Conservatives in quiet times will naturally have this feeling strengthened at a period of doubt and anxiety, and become Tories. Such, at any rate, was the case with a great merchant of Liverpool, at the date of which we write; but his ancestry, his education, his success in life, and his Toryism, are all of such importance to the pages which follow, that we are not ready to begin his history in the year 1809.

The family of the *Gledstones* or *Gladstones* was settled in Clydesdale at an early day. In the beginning of the sixteenth century they were landed proprietors in that county, and some of the name are known to have been in business at Biggar for more than fifty years before the middle of the last century. They were uniformly successful in their efforts to make a living, if we may judge from the record of those who retired from active business life to the calm and quiet of the estates which they had themselves acquired; for this seems to have been a younger branch of the family, who derived no share of the estates of Arthurshiel and Gladstones, the first-mentioned as possessed by those bearing this now widely honored name.

Some differences in the spelling of the family cognomen will be noted. The orthography above given seems to have prevailed until the middle of the last century; for it is Thomas Gladstones, who was born in 1732, who first writes it with an "o" in the last syllable. This was the grandfather of the great statesman. He left his father's house and settled in Leith, where he married. A numerous family grew up around him, the eldest of whom was a son called John. His business in the corn trade was so well managed and successful that he was able to make generous provision for each of the twelve children who grew to manhood and womanhood.

John Gladstones had scarcely attained his majority when he was sent by his father to Liverpool, to sell a cargo of grain which had arrived at that port. The young Scotchman had dealings with a leading corn merchant of that place, the head of

the house of Corrie & Co.; and displayed such capabilities for business that Mr. Corrie wrote to the elder Gladstones, requesting him to allow his son to remain in Liverpool. So well did the young man fulfill the promise of his first acquaintance, that before very long we find the firm of Corrie & Co. merged into a new house, with the name of Corrie, Gladstones & Bradshaw above its doors. The new member of the firm soon made his name a synonym for push and energy; and at least one occasion is recorded, when, by his activity, perseverance and indomitable pluck, he saved the house from utter ruin.

After being a member of this firm for sixteen years, John Gladstones, upon the retirement of his partners, associated his brother with him in the business, and largely extended the range of his transactions. With these, however, we have little to do; it is enough to have seen something of the success with which he met, and know what was his standing among men. He had made his name well known in the country of his adoption, even before it was made illustrious by his famous son. That name, it will again be observed, still differed slightly from the form which is so familiar to us; the final "s" was retained until the year 1834, when an act of Parliament sanctioned the disuse of it; though the name seems practically to have had its present form for some years before that date.

Mr. John Gladstone's first wife died, leaving no children; and after a due interval, the merchant, who seems still to have had frequent communication with his Scotch home, though all his six brothers had settled in Liverpool, married Ann, the daughter of Mr. Andrew Robertson, of Stornoway. One who knew the second Mrs. Gladstone intimately says of her that she was "a lady of very great accomplishments, of fascinating manners, commanding presence, and high intellect; one to grace any home and endear any heart." Of the six children of this marriage, the second was born Dec. 29, 1809, and was named WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE.

In addition to the personal qualities of the statesman's mother, to which we have just heard such glowing tribute paid, she was descended, genealogists claim, from a stock held in high honor. No less an authority than Sir Bernard Burke, perhaps the highest that could be quoted in such a connection, gives a royal ancestry to him who might well be called, like a statesman of an older day, the Great Commoner. The editor of the Peerage traces the

descent of Ann Robertson Gladstone, step by step, back to that James of Scotland, who, in his captivity, fell in love with Lady Jane Beaufort, a descendant of Henry III. of England. Other authorities add, that besides this claim to the blood of the Bruce, the Robertsons were akin to the ancient kings of Man and some other notable nobles of the far past. Burke is too excellent an authority to be met on his own ground; his assertions in such a case, made confidently as they are in this, are not to be lightly set aside; and no one has had the temerity to do so. But if the



Birthplace of Gladstone, Rodney Street, Liverpool.

statement that Gladstone is descended from Robert Bruce and the Plantagenets has never been contradicted, it is treated with the most sovereign contempt by the one most interested. Gladstone has spoken of his ancestors, indeed; but if he is proud of any, it is of those who, by their own energy and honorable enterprise, have carved their own fortunes, and risen to positions of public esteem and eminence. When, in November, 1865, the Parliamentary Reform Union presented an address to him in the Glasgow Trade Hall, he thanked those who had signed the address for reminding him of his connection with Scotland; and added:

“If Scotland is not ashamed of her sons, her sons are not ashamed of Scotland; and the memory of the parents to whom I owe my being combines with various other considerations to

make me glad and thankful to remember that the blood which runs in my veins is exclusively Scottish."

A little later than this, he had occasion to deliver an address at the Liverpool Collegiate Institute, in which, in frank and manly words, the Prime Minister of Great Britain recounted his obligations to commerce. Standing in his native city, before those to whose fathers and grandfathers his father had been known as one of the most eminent merchants and shipowners in Lancashire, he said :

"I know not why commerce in England should not have its old families, rejoicing to be connected with commerce from generation to generation. It has been so in other countries; I trust it will be so in this country. I think it a subject of sorrow, and almost of scandal, when those families who have either acquired or recovered wealth or station through commerce, turn their backs upon it, and seemed to be ashamed of it. It certainly is not so with my brother or me. His sons are treading in his steps, and one of my sons, I rejoice to say, is treading in the steps of my father and my brother."

Whatever illustrious names, then, may be ranked among his mother's ancestors in the fifteenth century, it is clear that the statesman himself makes no claim to a connection with any but the middle class, as it is ranked in England. But it will be remembered that, with all the advantages which are the perquisites of birth and wealth, the aristocracy has produced fewer really great men than this same middle class; and it will be found, upon careful consideration, that the majority of these few that we concede to them, are sprung, not of the old houses, but of those recently ennobled. The Grand Old Man has reason to be proud that he sprang from the middle class; and, to use an antithesis similar to his own when he spoke of Scotland and her sons, we may add that the middle class is proud of him.

When we have once fairly begun upon the story of the statesman's life, we shall turn aside only to notice those of his contemporaries who, in any respect, approach to the plane upon which he stands; let us, then, in this place, trace out something further of his family, as we shall not again return to the subject.

Mr. John Gladstone had already been chairman of the West India Association when, in 1814, his name was closely associated with the trading carried on with the East Indies. The old monopoly was broken in that year, and his firm was the first to

send a private vessel to the ports so long under the control of the East India Company. Nor was he progressive and enterprising in matters relating to his business alone. It is interesting to trace in the father the liberal public spirit, the breadth of view, and the desire for the amelioration of the condition of



Gladstone and His Sister (From a picture painted in 1811).

every class, that have so long been manifested in the son. The fact that he addressed, with no mean eloquence, a meeting which was called in 1818 "to consider the propriety of petitioning Parliament to take into consideration the progressive and alarming increase in the crimes of forging and uttering forged notes of the Bank of England," may be thought only proper to the prudent and prominent business man, anxious to check the spread of an offence peculiarly troublesome to him and his associates. His activity in another matter, however, shows him to be warm-hearted as well as keen-sighted. It was by his efforts that, in 1823, the Steamboat Act included a provision that each vessel should be obliged to carry a sufficient number of boats to accommodate the passengers, in case of any accident; a simple enough

precaution it seems to us, but so neglected previous to this time that, in one case, a public packet-boat which was wrecked with nearly one hundred and fifty souls on board, had only one small shallop, twelve feet long, to convey the passengers and seamen to shore. It was also due to him that means were taken to enlist the general sympathy for the Greeks, when they were struggling for their independence; and he spoke most impressively at the meeting which was held for that purpose.

These are but a few actions which show the character of the man. That he did not lack appreciation, is shown by the fact that a magnificent service of plate, consisting of twenty-eight pieces, was formally presented to him in the name of his fellow-townsmen in 1824; the inscription ran: "To John Gladstone, Esq., M. P., this service of plate was presented MDCCCXXIV, by his fellow-townsmen and friends, to mark their high sense of his successful exertions for trade and commerce, and in acknowledgment of his most important services rendered to the town of Liverpool."

While probably not possessed of the scholarship which has enabled the Premier to turn from the cares of state to enjoy Homer, Mr. Gladstone was well able to express his opinions on paper in such a way that men were glad to read them. His contributions to the literature of the day have not survived, because they were from their very nature ephemeral; but they had their share in molding the opinions of the men who made the laws by which England is now governed.

This Mr. Gladstone was a member of Parliament for nine years in all, representing several boroughs at different times. For a portion of the time that he sat in the House of Commons, his son was a member of the same body; and he heard the earliest efforts of that persuasive eloquence which has been able to make even a dry array of figures interesting. Partly out of recognition of his own services, partly as a compliment to his son, he was created a baronet in 1845, during the second administration of Sir Robert Peel. He died six years later, his title descending to his eldest son, Thomas. Sir Thomas Gladstone was as long a member of Parliament, though completely overshadowed by his younger brother. He enjoyed the reflected glory of being frequently mistaken for the distinguished member of the family, so strong was the resemblance between them; though, of course, it was only those who were comparative strangers who were liable to this error. A third

brother was a captain in the army, then M. P. for Portarlington; and a fourth was, like his father, a merchant of Liverpool—the same to whom reference was made in the speech at the Collegiate Institute. Of the two sisters, neither was ever married.

Sir John Gladstone's enormous wealth enabled him to make a handsome provision for each of his children during his lifetime, without crippling his own resources. Thus that son to whom nature had been most generous in her gifts of intellect was enabled to devote his time to the consideration of those questions which should occupy the mind of a statesman, without being compelled to enter the arena of that life in which bread must be won by hard and continuous labor. This advantage, we are taught by the example of others, is not entirely necessary to the development of genius; but even genius cannot afford to neglect any assistance which may be offered.

In the year 1812, a general election was held, and in this Mr. John Gladstone took a keen interest. A Conservative in time of peace, he had become an ardent Tory, and supported Mr. Canning with all the warmth of enthusiasm. This eloquent orator had been before the public, as a member of the House of Commons, for almost twenty years; and it was only five years after his first election that he had reached the summit of his reputation as a speaker, by his brilliant advocacy of the abolition of the slave trade, and his bitter sarcasms regarding the "New Philosophy," as the doctrines of the French Revolutionists were styled. He had not been silent when the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act was moved and carried in the year 1794, and bills intended to suppress seditious meetings were hurried through Parliament; his eloquent speeches had been eagerly looked for in the days of the Irish Rebellion of 1798. A zealous adherent of Pitt, when that statesman went out of office he resigned, too, though his chief advised him not to do so. The issue of the hour, in Canning's eyes, was Catholic Emancipation, and the electioneering speeches which he made were full of it. This had been a darling scheme of Pitt's, ever since the Union; but George III. had been seized with qualms of conscience when the Ministry proposed such measures, and pleaded his coronation oath as an insuperable bar to his royal assent. But now, though he was still nominally the sovereign, he was in reality but a helpless old man, imbecile, and verging upon that blindness and deafness which a little later cut him off from even so much communication with the world as

his darkened intellect could comprehend. The Prince Regent had no coronation oath to consider, and probably no conscience; so that the reformers hoped from the carelessness of a bad man what the scruples of a weak man had denied them.

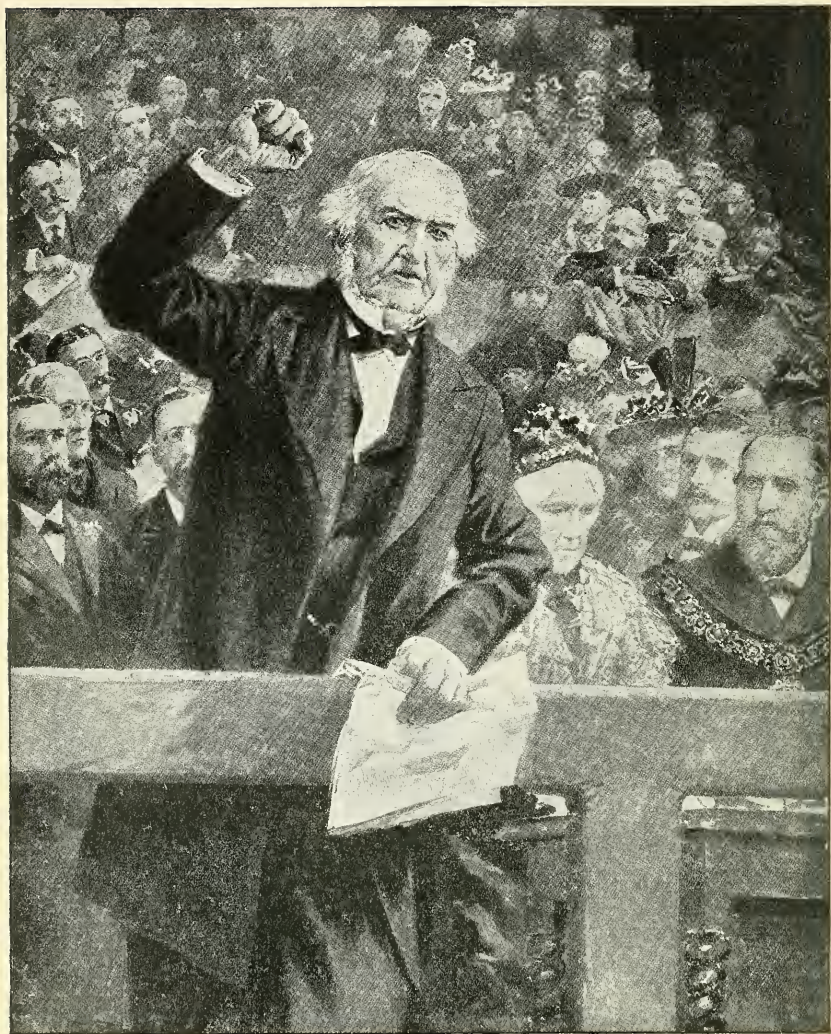
At a meeting presided over by Mr. John Gladstone, Mr. Canning had been invited to stand for Liverpool. The leading Whig was young Henry Brougham, who had not yet been raised to the peerage under the title so much more familiar to us. A sort of coalition was formed, between the two political parties, by which Canning and Brougham were to be returned as colleagues;



Lord Brougham.

but into this agreement one of the candidates refused to enter. In one of the fits of perversity which too often marred his career, Brougham refused to be a party to this agreement, and cast in his lot with an ultra-Radical; as the result of this action, he and his self-chosen colleague were both defeated, Canning and another Tory being returned. What was the case when the election was exciting in those days, we may infer from the fact that Brougham, in his memoirs, records that "two or three men were killed, but the town was quiet."

This "quiet" election having taken place, and the results having been announced, the victors gave their enthusiasm the rein,



THE TURKISH CRISIS—MR. GLADSTONE SPEAKING AT LIVERPOOL

and the successful candidates were chaired and carried in triumph through the streets. The procession halted before the house of Mr. Gladstone, who had been one of those most ardently desirous of the election of Canning and Brougham; and from the balcony of this dwelling Mr. Canning addressed his constituents. From the window looked some childish heads, the round eyes gazing wonderingly at the unwonted scene. One of the little ones was less than three years old at the time, but he assured admiring listeners, not many years ago, that he remembered the first election of Mr. Canning in Liverpool. This may fairly be ranked, then, as the earliest recollection of the distinguished man, the course of whose life we are now to trace; and certainly the remembrance of Canning himself, at this and later times, never faded from his mind. Mr. Canning and the elder Gladstone were warm friends after this, and the son was early imbued with a deep admiration for the famous Tory. Perhaps it was this which in a large measure attached him to that party of which he was not only the "rising hope," but one of the chief ornaments for many years.

The first school to which young William Ewart was sent was a small one near Liverpool, of which the venerable Archdeacon Jones was the head. He was six years old when he entered, and remained six years. Of his progress at this school we do not hear very flattering accounts. Said Dean Stanley: "There is a small school near Liverpool at which Mr. Gladstone was brought up before he went to Eton. A few years afterward another little boy who went to this school" (it is not hard to guess who) "and whose name I will not mention, called upon the old clergyman who was the head master. The boy was now a young man, and he said to the old clergyman: 'There is one thing in which I have never in the least degree improved since I was at school—the casting up of figures.' 'Well', replied the master, it is very extraordinary that it should be so, because certainly no one could be a more incapable arithmetician at school than you were; but I will tell you a curious thing: when Mr. Gladstone was at the school, he was just as incapable at addition and subtraction as you were; now you see what he has become. He is one of the greatest of our financiers."

The knowledge which a child acquires from his school-books is a trifle compared to that which he insensibly accumulates in a well ordered home, where his elders are thoughtful of his desire

for knowledge. With all his business and other cares, Mr. John Gladstone found time to educate his son in the great questions of the day; and when the boy was but twelve years old, his father would discuss the measures which were then of importance, and teach him how to form intelligent opinions upon them. How much of the sagacity displayed in later life has been the result of this training, cannot be told. To use the words of one of his most careful and voluminous biographers: "Precocity is not always the happiest augury in a youth; it too frequently betokens one of two things—either that the flame of genius which burns so brightly will be quickly extinguished for the lack of physical fuel, or that the quickness and intelligence of childhood will degenerate into mediocrity as manhood approaches. Mr. Gladstone was an exception to this rule, in so far that solidity of judgment appears to have accompanied perceptive and retentive powers of an unusual order. His genius was not of the purely conceptive and imaginative type, but he possessed an intellectual aptitude of a high quality, and was favored in addition with an exceptional amount of vital energy.

In September, 1821, he was entered at Eton, where he remained until 1827. This great school, which, with Rugby, stands out in the mind of the average American reader as the type of English public schools, is a very different affair from institutions of a similar aim in our own country. About eleven hours are devoted to study each week. "No instruction is given in any branch of mathematical, physical, metaphysical, or moral science, nor in the evidences of Christianity. The only subjects which it is professed to teach are the Greek and Latin languages, as much divinity as can be gained from construing the Greek Testament, and reading a portion of Tomline on the Thirty-nine Articles, and a little ancient and modern geography." Such is the testimony of no less an authority than the *Edinburgh Review*; and as we read it, and recall the testimony of Archdeacon Jones recorded above, we are involuntarily moved to ask where Mr. Gladstone studied financiering to such an excellent advantage.

Another question suggests itself: If they devote only eleven hours to school work at Eton (and in 1845, according to a pupil of that date, the time was even less than that), what do they do the rest of the time, and how is the reputation of the school kept up? The Public Schools Commission investigated matters once, and Lord Morley was called as a witness. Asked whether

a boy would be looked down upon at Eton for being industrious in school work, his lordship replied, with what seems to us a laughable naivete, "Not if he could do something else well."

The system of fagging, with its manifold evils, has been well described by the author of "Tom Brown's Schooldays at Rugby;" and the scenes drawn from the life of another school are not inapplicable to Eton. But there were honorable exceptions, of course, in which the fags were not so badly treated; and by one of these the future statesman profited, being his elder brother's fag. By the time that Thomas Gladstone had left Eton, William was sufficiently high in rank to have a fag of his own; and one who filled that position said, in after years, that he wished he could be certain that he had treated his own fags as well as he had been treated by Gladstone.

There were but few honors to be won at Eton in those days, for the pupils were promoted by seniority after they had passed a certain stage, so that examinations, with their disappointments and triumphs, were not. The one reward for excellence consisted in being "sent up for good" on account of Latin or Greek verses; and this honor was won several times by young Gladstone.

The head master in those days was an exceedingly cruel little martinet. He was often more pleased with a sharp excuse than with a really good one; this proved to be of material advantage to Gladstone on one occasion. He had been made "præpostor" of his form, and had neglected to report a boy who had come late. A birch was at once called for, and the head master addressed the delinquent official with words which may be translated into the speech of the day by the single sentence: "A public office is a public trust." The culprit listened to the harangue which expressed this in many a grandiloquent phrase, and then excused himself with: "If you please, sir, my præpostorship would have been an office of trust if I had sought it of my own accord, but it was forced upon me." His sharp wit saved him, and the boy of fourteen was victor in the wordy contest.

Though, as has been remarked, the school at Eton did not do much toward educating the pupils there, they did a good deal in the way of educating themselves. One of the means which they employed for this purpose was the Eton Debating Society, of which our subject became a member in 1826; and which he aided much, by his own work, and by getting others interested.

In the same form with Gladstone was Arthur Henry Hallam, the eldest son of the historian, and the friend whose death Ten-



Eton School.

nyson has made the subject of *In Memoriam*; and the two were almost inseparable. It was to please Hallam that Gladstone re-

nounced those athletic sports in which he would otherwise have excelled, and devoted his leisure to long walks about the fields and Windsor Park.

A visit which Canning paid to Eton in 1824, in the course of which he found time for an hour's talk with the son of his friend and supporter, doubtless did much toward establishing on a firmer basis that admiration for the brilliant statesman which was so noticeable in Gladstone's later years. The talk was upon the leading questions of the day; and the Minister of the Crown conversed with the schoolboy as with an equal in mind and experience. His advice about the school work was in the tone of an elder brother, and was closely followed by his young admirer.

Whoever has read Miss Edgeworth knows that at one time the students of Eton were accustomed to celebrate a festival peculiar to themselves, called Montem. Costumed in various colors, sometimes in imitation of historical characters or national dresses, they would solicit contributions from visitors to support the "captain" during at least a portion of his Cambridge or Oxford course. At the "Montem" of 1826, Gladstone was in Greek costume; and was one of the "salt-bearers," as these collectors were called. It was the rule that the captain should pay, out of the sum thus collected, for all the damage that was done by the rampant schoolboys during the festival; and Mr. Gladstone was one of the first pupils of the school who tried to keep such order that these damages would not melt all the salt.

There had been several papers published at Eton before this time. Prominent among them were the *Microcosm*, in which Canning and Frere had given to the world the earliest scintillations of their later brilliancy; and the *Apis Matina* and the *Miscellany*, which had been enriched by the delicately finished products of Praed's genius. It was almost exclusively to the efforts of young Gladstone that another magazine was due—The *Eton Miscellany*. Of this he was the editor and the principal contributor from the date of its inception, in the summer of 1826, until he left the school. To the first volume he contributed thirteen articles, including a poem of two hundred and fifty lines on Richard Cœur de Lion. How far the general popularity of Scott at this time guided him to the selection of such a subject in this the most ambitious of his efforts, is a matter for debate; certainly the Wizard of the North was acknowledged as the favorite poet both of Gladstone and his friend Hallam.

To the second volume of the Eton Miscellany he contributed seventeen articles ; both these numbers of course representing separate contributions, and not editorials, introductions, etc. His pen name was *Bartholomew Bouverie* ; and this was the epitaph which he composed for himself as editor :

Here lieth Bartle Bouverie ;
A merry soul and quaint was he ;
He lived for gain, he wrote for pelf,
Then took his pen and stabbed himself.

Perhaps the most notable of his contributions is the tribute to Canning, written on the occasion of that statesman's premature death. He had died just when triumph was awaiting him. The aim of his labors for many years had been Catholic Emancipation. We cannot pause here to describe the disabilities under which Catholics labored at this period. Those earlier and more oppressive laws, which forbade a communicant of the Roman Church the privilege of educating his own children, and gave his estate to the child who would profess himself a Protestant, had long ceased to be enforced ; but there were many respects in which the laws of the land were scarcely less unjust. Canning had made this the turning point of the campaign of 1812 ; but the state of Europe worked against his plans. It was the old story ; Grattan had said, as early as 1782 : " England's weakness is Ireland's strength." Conversely, the truth is the same. The Irish were obliged to wait for a threatened invasion of Napoleon's army before the frightened English Parliament would even promise them this redress ; and the promise was not fulfilled soon.

Canning's efforts in this direction had made him unpopular at court, and this disfavor was increased by the course which he took in regard to Queen Caroline's divorce. During the regency, Canning had shown himself no approver of the treatment which the Princess of Wales received from the royal rone whom she had married ; and when matters came to a head upon the accession of George IV. he tendered his resignation ; being openly opposed to any proceedings against her. The King, however, refused to accept it, since it would materially weaken the Cabinet ; and the indispensable Minister received full permission to hold aloof from all proceedings against the Queen. The same trouble being expected to absorb the attention of Parliament during the next session, he again tendered his resignation, which was accepted this time, and Mr. Peel appointed.

But the business of royal family quarrels settled, for the time at least, the old question of Catholic Emancipation came up. Hitherto, the statesman had been in advance of his time; the time was now catching up with the statesman. The bill received greater majorities than ever before in the Commons, though it failed to pass the Lords.

The death of Lord Castlereagh in 1822 made Canning absolutely indispensable in the Cabinet, and the Prime Minister requested the permission of the King to make the appointment. After considerable argument on the subject, the King wrote a letter, which he requested might be shown to Mr. Canning, and which he intended to be very gracious. "The King is aware," the letter ran, "that the brightest jewel in his crown is the power of extending grace and favor to a subject who may have incurred his displeasure." Canning was duly shown this letter, and wrote one in reply which was not at all gracious, and which he in turn requested might be shown to the King. He was with difficulty restrained from sending it, and the breach was healed. From this time we do not find that George IV. failed to rate the Minister at his true worth. The only exception to this was in 1827, when the death of the Premier made it necessary to form a new Ministry. This was not an easy matter. The King was bent upon forming an anti-Catholic Administration; Canning would not serve in such a Ministry. When his Majesty gave this idea up, and attempted to form a Cabinet on some other basis, there was still trouble, for Canning and Peel both seemed necessary. But Canning would not serve under Peel, and Peel would not serve under Canning. After two months had passed, however, the King decided that Canning, even with his favorite measure, was the man whom he must have; and the apostle of Catholic Emancipation became Prime Minister of England.

But this did not bring peace to the political world. The Duke of Wellington so bitterly opposed the appointment of Canning, that he resigned, not only the civil office that he held, but his post as commander-in-chief of the British army; and every measure which the new Government brought forward was most bitterly opposed by "the Duke" in the House of Lords, and by his lieutenant, Peel, in the Commons. Harassed by such opposition, and conscious that the King entertained no very great liking for him, the lot of the Prime Minister can hardly have been a pleasant one. He kept bravely on, however, and prepared his plan

of campaign for the next session of Parliament. But a severe cold told heavily upon a system already broken by hard work and anxiety, and before the session of 1827 opened he was dead.

Since his election in 1812, if not before, Mr. Canning had been a frequent visitor at Seaforth House, as the Gladstone residence at Liverpool was called ; and the elder Gladstone was without doubt a leader of the popular enthusiasm for him. The great Tory had been returned four successive times from that borough, and always by handsome majorities. The Canning Club was one of the most prosperous organizations of the kind to be found in



Duke of Wellington (at the Period of the Battle of Waterloo).

the large, progressive, commercial city. Was it any wonder that the young student at Eton, distinguished as he had been by such marks of the statesman's favor, should share the enthusiasm of his fellow-townsmen, led as they were by his own father, its object a man whom his earliest recollections pictured as ruling men by the magic of his words? And when he compared ancient and modern genius, is it any wonder that he should grow elo-



MR. AND MRS. GLADSTONE ON THE CELEBRATION OF
THEIR GOLDEN WEDDING

quent over the object of his boyish admiration, and award the palm to the genius of the time? We have space for the peroration only:

“It is for those who revered him in the plenitude of his meridian glory to mourn over him in the darkness of his premature extinction; to mourn over the hopes that are buried in his grave, and the evils that arise from his withdrawing from the scene of life. Surely, if eloquence never excelled and seldom equalled, if an expanded mind, and judgment whose vigor was only paralleled by its soundness, if brilliant wit, if a glowing imagination, if a warm heart and unbending firmness, could have strengthened the frail tenure, and prolonged the momentary endurance of human existence, that man had been immortal. But nature could endure no longer. Thus had Providence ordained, that inasmuch as the intellect is more brilliant, it shall be more short-lived; as its sphere is more expanded, more swiftly is it summoned away. Lest we should give to man the honor due to God, lest we should exalt the object of our admiration into a divinity for our worship, He who calls the mourner and the weary to eternal rest hath been pleased to remove him from our eyes. . . . The decrees of inscrutable wisdom are unknown to us; but if ever there was a man for whose sake it was meet to indulge the kindly though frail feelings of our nature, for whom the tear of sorrow was both prompted by affection and dictated by duty, that man was George Canning.”

Whatever be the faults of this passage, it will compare favorably with the majority of schoolboy productions; and perhaps it will not surprise the reader who has not been told the author's name to learn that the boy of eighteen afterward became one of the most eloquent members of the British Parliament. We discern already the indications of that fluency which his enemies have sometimes styled verbosity; that wonderful flow of words, which piles up invective after invective, argument upon argument, until the whole becomes unanswerable.

We have already mentioned Hallam as one of Gladstone's contemporaries at Eton. Next to him, in the estimation of the student in whom we are specially interested, came George A. Selwyn, afterward a bishop; and he who, as Sir Francis Hastings Doyle, became Professor of Poetry at the University of Oxford.

Though the esteem of the head master of this time does not seem to be worth wishing for, it was possessed in large measure

by the pupil who could outwit him in argument, and who never betrayed fear of his tyranny. It was won mainly by young Gladstone's persistence in study, and retained by that and other qualities. Alluding to the fact that Mr. Gladstone the elder had been undecided whether to send his second son to Eton or the Charterhouse, Dr. Keats once said :

“That would have been a pity for both of us, Gladstone—for you and for me.”

During his year in the Sixth Form, or highest class of the school, Mr. Gladstone became President of the Debating Society and the acknowledged head of the school in literary attainments and oratory. His home training had indeed been such as to fit him for this standing in a peculiar degree. All the children of the family were accustomed to argue with each other every point that admitted of argument ; it was this training that has made him such a master of the art of persuasion. The arguments were all perfectly good-humored ; but they were not advanced rashly, or abandoned without conviction. Nor were they averse to acknowledging themselves beaten when such was felt to be the case. It was early recognized that the second son possessed the greatest powers of persuasion. On one occasion, an old Scotch servant was directed to hang a certain picture, but the side of the room on which it should be placed was not specified. Master Willie, as he was called at home, and his sister, Miss Mary, proceeded to discuss the question, each choosing a different place as the one to be preferred. The feminine tongue was the longer, or else her enemy was too gallant to insist upon fighting it to the end, even with his sister ; for he was silent after a while, though evidently not convinced. The servant hung the picture as Miss Mary wished, then drove a nail on the opposite wall.

“What are you doing that for, Sandy?” demanded the young lady.

“Aweel, Miss, that'll do to hang the picture on when ye'll have coom roond to Maister Willie's opeenion.”

We have already spoken of the lack of mathematical training at Eton. No arithmetic beyond the subject of division was taught by the master, who was allowed to give his lessons out of school hours, as extras, to those who particularly wished to excel ; and for many years after Mr. Gladstone left the school this state of things continued. While the requirements at Cambridge were

such that this would have been very insufficient preparation, involving the necessity of studying under a private tutor, it was different at Oxford. It seems almost incredible that during the present century it was quite possible for a man to take his degree at this ancient seat of learning, and yet have no more knowledge of mathematics than the boy in our own primary schools. Yet so it was; and if young Gladstone had been content simply to take the classical course at Oxford he might have gone direct to the university. His home training, however, had given him habits of thoroughness with which this was inconsistent; and for nearly two years he read with a private tutor, Dr. Turner, afterward the Bishop of Calcutta. When he did enter Oxford in 1829, he knew almost as much mathematics as the average Cambridge sophomore.

His career at school had given him the reputation of uncommon ability, and because he was regarded as a young man of exceptional promise he was nominated to a studentship at Christ Church. This brought him an income of about £160 per annum. The scholarships are now given to those who excel in the competitive examinations, and it is not usual for those who are in affluent circumstances to compete for them; but fifty or sixty years ago, they were at the disposal of the Dean, and were not often bestowed upon those who really had need of them.

The student impressed himself strongly upon the minds of his comrades. It was his intense conviction of being in the right which made him so persevering, not to say stubborn, in an argument; and thus assured him the victory over those who did not ponder very deeply on their opinions, and hence were not prepared to defend them vigorously when attacked. Yet one of his tutors has borne evidence to his readiness to acknowledge that he had been in the wrong, when he really thought that it was so. Thus early were the traits developed, which made it possible for him to be first a Tory, then the most progressive of Liberals; first to permit the use of coercion by a member of his Ministry, as a means of ruling the Irish; then to advocate the extension of home rule to that country.

It was a thorough knowledge of his nature, as displayed at college, which enabled one of his old college friends to say, forty years afterward: "You must know Gladstone to understand how much it costs him to give up any clause in a bill which he has framed. He hates compromise as a concession of good to evil.

He cannot acknowledge half truths or admit the value of half good. What grieves him is not the humiliation of being beaten by his systematic foes, but the misery of having failed to convince those who profess to be his friends and to let themselves be guided by him; and again, when he surrenders a particle of what he considers right, he is at war with his restive conscience, asking himself whether he was morally justified in yielding to serve party ends."



Christ Church College, Oxford.

It was small wonder that a youth with such abilities and such characteristics should soon become a notable figure in the Oxford Union, the foremost literary and debating society of the

university. This association had been founded in 1823, chiefly by Balliol men, but by 1829 Christ Church and Oriel Colleges furnished a majority of the members. It possessed a respectable library and a well-furnished reading room. Something of the earnestness of the members may be inferred from the fact that, until 1826, proposals to buy the Waverly Novels and other works of fiction were resolutely thrown out. The debates were principally on subjects connected with the conduct of national affairs; and the young students gravely advised and directed the Ministers of the Crown, as Columbus commanded the sun to hide his face from the recusant red men; that there was an eclipse, history records; and sometimes the British Empire was ruled in accordance with the ideas of the Oxford Union; but the command was probably the reason in one case as much as in the other.

It is curious to note the stand which the embryo statesman took upon the questions of the day. Like a true Tory, he was violently opposed to the question of Parliamentary Reform, which was then the subject uppermost in the minds of all concerned with public affairs; and spoke in the Union with considerable ability upon this side of the question. This speech is of considerable importance, considered as a step in his career; for it produced such an impression upon the young Earl of Lincoln, the eldest son of the Duke of Newcastle, that he wrote home to his father: "A man has uprisen in Israel." The young nobleman's admiration for his fellow-student had begun some time before this, and continued strong as ever for many years afterward; it was the means of exciting the interest of his father, one of the most powerful Tories of the day; and was the reason why Mr. Gladstone was invited to stand for the duke's pocket-borough of Newark.

For the present, however, we have but to deal with his university life. The debate upon the relative excellences of Byron and Shelley, an inter-university contest to which Cambridge challenged Oxford, took place while Gladstone was in his freshman year, and therefore not eligible to more than a probationary membership. Though debarred the privilege of speaking in this notable debate, he was accorded the honor of a place upon the reception committee; for his reputation for hospitality was as great as for scholarship.

The offices of secretary and president of the Union were conferred upon him at a later period; but all his oratorical triumphs

were not in its rooms. He became the founder of another debating society, which seems to have included only a few special friends as its members. This club was called the "Weg," from the initials of its founder, and its assemblies were well known for their brilliancy.

The leader of the Weg was regarded as the most religious man of his set. He was what was called an "enquirer after truth" in those days; and as such, he was a fairly regular attendant upon church, with frequent visits to the chapels of the Dissenters. He was untiring in his efforts to induce his fellow-students to go with him to hear the University Sermons, preached Sunday afternoons; and one unlucky occasion, when he yielded to the heat and prosiness of the preacher, furnished Doyle with an unfailing retort for future invitations of the kind. "Thank you," the future poet would say to the future statesman, "I can sleep as well in my own chair."

He went up for his degree at the Michaelmas term of 1831. Moderations had not then been instituted, and the students were utterly ignorant as to whether their attainments were anything near the mark, until the final examinations were held. An undergraduate's scholarship was never tested until the time came at which he tried for his degree. It was therefore with some nervousness about the result that Mr. Gladstone entered upon this test; and when he went home for the Christmas holidays, without having learned anything definite about the examination, he was decidedly anxious. Though it be not in mortals to command success, he had deserved it; and in this case desert was rewarded. He was among the forty-seven who took a "first-class" in classics, and among the five who achieved the same distinction in mathematics. He had thus the distinction of a "double first class," an honor which had been first won by Sir Robert Peel. "The world lies at the feet of first-class men." Everything now combined to insure his success in political life—wealth, position, influential friends, all that could be wished for were given to him who so richly deserved them by his abilities.

What was the effect of his university training upon the mind and the after life of the student? For unless this be shown the record becomes a mere gratification of idle curiosity. Like the Conservatives of the day, he had dreaded innovation, and had seen clearly the evils which follow in her train. That these evils were mere visionary ones, does not matter; he had become im-

bued with the ideas, so prevalent there, and indeed in strict accordance with those of his father and his father's famous friend, which considered any confidence in the people as only too likely to lead to a repetition, in London, of the horrors perpetrated in Paris in the days of Louis XVI. His admiration of Canning, and his education at Oxford, were two mighty barriers between him and that party of which he has since become the acknowledged and beloved chief. But let us hear what he has himself said upon the subject, in a speech delivered at the opening of the Palmerston Club in Oxford, in 1878:

“I trace in the education of Oxford of my own time one great defect. Perhaps it was my own fault; but I must admit that I did not learn, while at Oxford, that which I have learned since, viz.: to set a due value on the imperishable and inestimable principles of human liberty. The temper which, I think, too much prevailed in academic circles was, that liberty was regarded with jealousy, and fear could not be wholly dispensed with. . . . I think that the principle of the Conservative party is jealousy of liberty and of the people, only qualified by fear; but I think that the policy of the Liberal party is trust in the people, only qualified by prudence. I can only assure you, gentlemen, that now I am in front of extended popular privileges, I have no fear of those enlargements of the Constitution which seem to be approaching. On the contrary, I hail them with desire. I am not in the least degree conscious that I have less reverence for antiquity, for the beautiful, good, and glorious charges which our ancestors have handed down to us as a patrimony to our race, than I had in other days when I held other political opinions. I have learned to set the true value upon human liberty, and in whatever I have changed, there, and there only, has been the explanation of the change.”

Such is the explanation which, standing upon the threshold of threescore and ten, he made upon the actions and opinions of the student of twenty-two.

CHAPTER II.

THE BEGINNING OF PUBLIC LIFE.

Interest in Political Questions—Reaction After the War—Destitution of the Colliers—Seats in Parliament Bought and Sold—How Elections were Conducted—Duke of Wellington as Prime Minister—Plan of Reform—Fury of the Tory Peers—Address to the Electors at Newark—Mr. Gladstone Elected to Parliament—The Slavery Question—Eloquent Speeches—Becomes Identified with Great Public Questions—Rising Star in the Political Firmament.

DURING the Spring of 1831 Mr. Gladstone took an active interest in political questions. Among other proofs of this, we find an account of a Reform meeting published in a paper of the period, written by the young graduate; in which he showed that the vast crowd there present was not to be taken as an indication of the popularity of the movement. He was not backward in assailing the characters of those who were active at this meeting, as he deemed to be evidenced by their previous standing and their performance on the occasion.

During the summer of that year, the young gentleman went to the continent, where he expected to enjoy an extended tour. He was recalled to England during that very summer, however. One of the most important measures of the century had just passed the two Houses, and received the unwilling assent of the King. But the Reform Bill of 1832 is too important a measure in itself, and as a forerunner of what came after it, to be lightly passed over in the life of an English statesman who, like Gladstone, sat in the first Reform Parliament, and was active in those later efforts for Reform which grew out of the liberty assured by the first law.

As long as the country was at war, the Conservatives naturally held the reins of government; it was not safe to make concessions to the people in the face of the outrages perpetrated by the French; the monarchy would be overturned, social order destroyed, and general pandemonium ensue, should such encour-



HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA

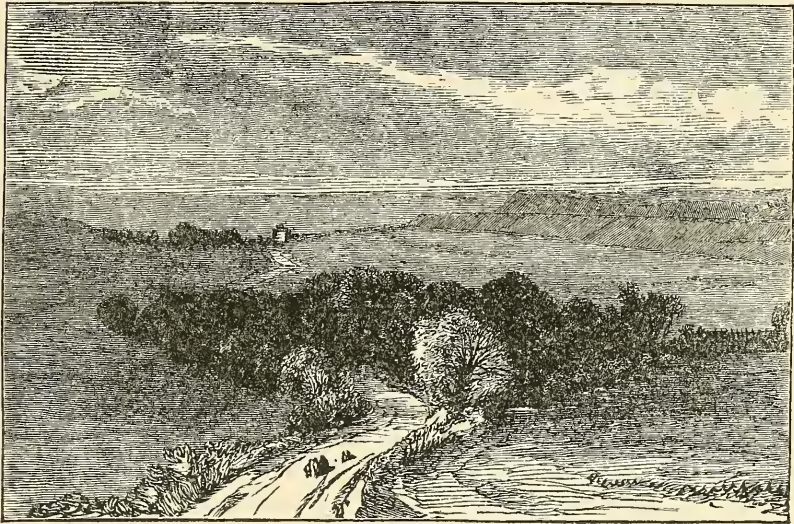
agement be given. True, the Bill for Catholic Emancipation had been carried, but that was an act of justice, long-delayed, indeed, but thoroughly different from such a purely political measure as increasing the number of electors for the members of Parliament. There was no real representation of the people of England at that time; and it must be remembered that they had never had any rights, aside from the landed proprietors. To go back to the very corner-stone of English liberty, Magna Charta itself, that instrument protected the barons against the tyranny of the king; but there was no human power which could protect the wage-earners against the tyranny of the barons. Hampden upheld the rights of the Commons against Charles I., but those Commons were, like himself, men of large property and high standing. In 1886, there were thirteen workmen in Parliament; not agitators, who lived off the contributions of their misguided disciples, and never did a day's honest work in their lives, but the regulation "horny-handed sons of toil," who by their skill had first gained the respect of their fellows, and retained it by their sterling good sense; supported by the trades unions, it is true (for they must live), they gave to the good of the community the time which they had formerly devoted to the manual labor which provided food and shelter for their families; but were in no sense adventurers. Such were the facts in 1886; but in 1826 such a prophecy would have been looked upon as the wildest dream of an unscrupulous revolutionist; and it was not rendered possible for forty years later.

But when the war was over, the reaction began to set in. It began with the abolition of most of the sinecures which had been held by the great nobles at enormous salaries. Having cut off from the list those offices where there was nothing to do, the reformers next considered those where the work was done chiefly by deputies; and the practice of allowing officers so to discharge their duties was to a considerable extent abolished. Religious tests were done away with; Catholics might sit in Parliament, Dissenters might hold any kind of civil or political office, Jews were eligible as civic officers of London. The criminal code, too, had been changed, and the death penalty limited to those great crimes which are now punished by the extreme sentence of the law. All these changes, while they seem to us to embrace only those principles which must rule the intercourse between man and man, were then real reforms,

The people had tried to make themselves heard, but had not succeeded. "In 1817 some starving colliers of the North had thought of making a pilgrimage to the house of the Prince Regent in London, in the hope of being allowed to tell their tale of misery to him, and induce him to do something on their behalf. Following the example of these poor fellows, a large body of Manchester workingmen resolved that they would walk to London, make known their grievances to the authorities there, and ask for Parliamentary Reform as one means of improving their condition." Destitute as they were, they had no money to spend upon this melancholy pilgrimage for anything but the food which was an absolute necessity; and each carried with him his blanket, that he might not be without a bed at night. When this became known among those who had never felt the hardships of poverty, the foot-sore and shelterless travelers were styled the "Blanketeers." But it was useless to make such an appeal to the Prince Regent or his Ministry. The men in authority saw nothing pitiful in this array of hard-working men, asking to be allowed the bare right of living by their own labor, for such a privilege was what they hoped Reform would bring them. They were rioters, revolutionary, seditious; and the soldiery posted along the roads which they traveled arrested some, who were brought to trial and committed to prison; while the rest were turned back homeward, to endure as well as they could the old burdens.

The Peterloo Massacre took place about two years after the journey of the Blanketeers; and these are but specimens of the tyranny which was practised upon Englishmen of that day, under the disguise of a representative government. It seems incredible that such abuses should have arisen in a system originally intended as a safeguard of the liberties of the subject; but it must be remembered that the sovereign alone had the power to summon a borough or county to return a representative to Parliament; such a call once given, the member was elected time after time; in many cases, the original population had dwindled to a mere handful, and in some it was altogether gone; while, on the other hand, the great manufacturing centers, which had grown up of late years, were wholly unrepresented. Two-thirds of the House of Commons consisted of members from "rotten boroughs," as they were called; boroughs in which the voters, if there were any, were so completely under the domination of the

lord of the soil that the election was a mere farce, in which they had no power to act but as the owner of the seat dictated. Old Sarum, a town from which Salisbury had drawn all the population, still sent one member to Parliament, as it had done in the days when it was a flourishing town; Gatton, which had but seven electors, had two representatives in the councils of the nation. Ludgershall, in Wiltshire, was, like Old Sarum, without inhabitants, but with a Parliamentary franchise. The owner of this seat elected himself to Parliament, but was so far sensible of the in-



The Uninhabited Borough of Old Sarum.

justice of his own rights that he told his colleagues, when the question of Reform came before the House: "Gentlemen, I am the patron of Ludgershall, I am the constituency of Ludgershall, and I am the member for Ludgershall; but in all three capacities I mean to vote for the disfranchisement of Ludgershall."

Nor was this all. Not only did the owners of the seats return the members in whom they took a personal interest, or whom they hoped to bind to themselves politically, but when one of these fortunate individuals had no special candidate in view, he had no hesitation in disposing of his property to the best advantage. Seats were not only often bought and sold—all the reform in the world does not seem to be able to prevent that, in England or elsewhere—but they were publicly advertised for

sale. Elections lasted for fifteen days, in some cases—it had been necessary to limit their duration to that length of time by a law passed in 1784—and the whole period was given up to the most riotous debauchery in the counties and boroughs where there were still a respectable number of electors. Such was the state of affairs in England; and in Scotland and Ireland, incredible as it may seem, it was even worse.

The project of Parliamentary Reform was one which had for many years been in the minds of statesmen. The elder Pitt had brought it forward, but the successful resistance of the American colonies to the power of a non-representative Parliament made such schemes unpopular for a number of years. The public tendency to Conservatism caused by the American Revolution had but begun to set the other way, when the French Revolution again turned it, and men once more determined that it would not do to make bad worse. The Duke of Wellington, in particular, was a determined opponent of the question, and affirmed that he believed such a concession to the masses would bring about a civil war. With a solemnity which gave the words of the great soldier, the military idol of the people, a depth of meaning which no other man's could have had, he told his listeners that to save his country from one month of civil war, he would willingly lay down his life. Such was the earnest belief of many wise statesmen. But there were others more in sympathy with the spirit of the times, and these had never ceased to plead the cause in which they so earnestly believed. One of these was that Earl Grey to whose lofty eloquence Macaulay has borne testimony; another was his son-in-law, Lord Durham, by whose masterful mind the somewhat slower nature of the elder noble was often directed; then there was Henry Brougham, who had not yet been created a peer, but whose restless, untiring energy made him incapable of Conservatism. But foremost of all, in the earnestness of his efforts, the untiring patience with which he worked for the advancement of the measure, and the powers which he brought to the contest, was Lord John Russell. No man, without genius, has ever so impressed himself upon the history of his age. Clear-sighted, strong-willed, with undeviating principles, it was the sole advantage which the system of electing the members of Parliament which prevailed at that time possessed, that it provided for the training and advancement, in their early youth, of such men as he was.

At last an event which did more for the Reform than any other could have done, occurred. This was the death of George IV., which took place June 26, 1830. It had long been tacitly understood that as long as the "First Gentleman in Europe" was alive, it was useless to think of bettering the condition of his unfortunate subjects. But William IV. had been popular in his youth, and longed to have that state of affairs restored. Perhaps it would be more just to say that he seems to have wished, with all the earnestness of which he was capable, to be a good king. At any rate, his people thought that his accession was a step forward in the cause of Reform.

The Duke of Wellington was Prime Minister at the time of this change. His Ministry had indeed passed the Catholic Emancipation Bill, but it was generally acknowledged that they had not done this because they had recognized the justice of the measure, but because they had been convinced that it would not be safe to delay it any longer. The reform question had reached that stage at this time. Added to this, matters in France were having their effect upon English politics, as they have always had, sooner or later. The brother of Louis XVI. had been compelled to abdicate, and the Orleans branch of the royal family had been called to the throne. This change had resulted from the refusal of the French Ministry to consider questions which were forced upon their attention by the people; the English Ministry took the lesson to heart.



William IV.

But Wellington denied that the distress which existed in the country was general; and even if it were, he refused to be convinced that Reform was a cure for it, or indeed anything but an evil. The Tory Ministry grew more and more unpopular, and at last was compelled to resign. Earl Grey was his successor,

and most of the men who had long been prominent in the cause of Reform were in his cabinet. Brougham was made Lord Chancellor; Melbourne, Stanley (afterwards Lord Derby), Plunkett, and Durham, were also chosen for this honor. Lord John Russell was in office, but not in the Cabinet. One member of the Government, Lord Althorp, possessed the confidence of the House in a remarkable degree. On one occasion he was replying to an opponent whose arguments had been very plausible. "I do not now recollect," he said, "the reasons which prove his objections to be groundless; but I know that those reasons were perfectly satisfactory to my own mind." And the House, with a devotion seldom, if ever, paralleled, took Lord Althorp's word for it, and gave a large majority against his opponent.

Lord John Russell was commissioned to draw up a plan to be submitted to the House; for it was understood that this Ministry was appointed for the special purpose of carrying out some Reform measure. This was duly submitted to the Premier, and a bill drawn up in accordance with his modifications of the draught.

While the author of the plan of Reform did not, as he tells us in his own work on the "The English Government and Constitution," think it well to make any changes which could possibly be avoided, it was necessary to make this measure complete in itself; to leave no room for their enemies to say that they were only playing at Reform. But the secret was carefully kept, and until the actual introduction of the Bill into Parliament, its enemies did not know the nature of the measure which they would have to fight. They had supposed that Old Sarum and Gattton would be struck from the list; they felt sure that Manchester and Birmingham would be added to it; but as Lord John, who introduced the Bill, proceeded with his speech, and the names of sixty boroughs were given, as the ones which it was proposed to leave without representation, and forty-seven which were to have but one member each, the Tories began to feel that all breaches within their party must be forgotten, in fighting this common foe, Reform. Seven nights of debate followed in the House of Commons, and at the close of the seventh, one member remarked that no speaker had expressed himself as opposed to all Reform "a remarkable change," comments Cooke, in his "History of Party." The bill was defeated at last, the opposition having a majority of eight; and the king dis-

solved Parliament. It was well that he did so ; for the Ministry must have resigned, after a division and defeat on the main object which they advocated; and that would in all probability have involved a popular rising like that of the first Revolution in France.

If the Tories did not hesitate to use all the influence which they possessed, the Whigs were in the van with them. True, the Whigs, or Liberals, as they began to be more generally called, owned but few boroughs, compared with their opponents ; but bribery was a powerful force with many of the electors, and they did not hesitate to fight the devil with fire. Then, too, the electors, in many cases, cast off their former allegiance, and defied the power to which they had so long been subject. The result was that when the new Parliament met, and the Bill was once more submitted, the Ministry had a majority of 109 ; not fifty members of the minority, says the eminent authority above quoted, that were not directly interested in the result, as members for disfranchised boroughs.

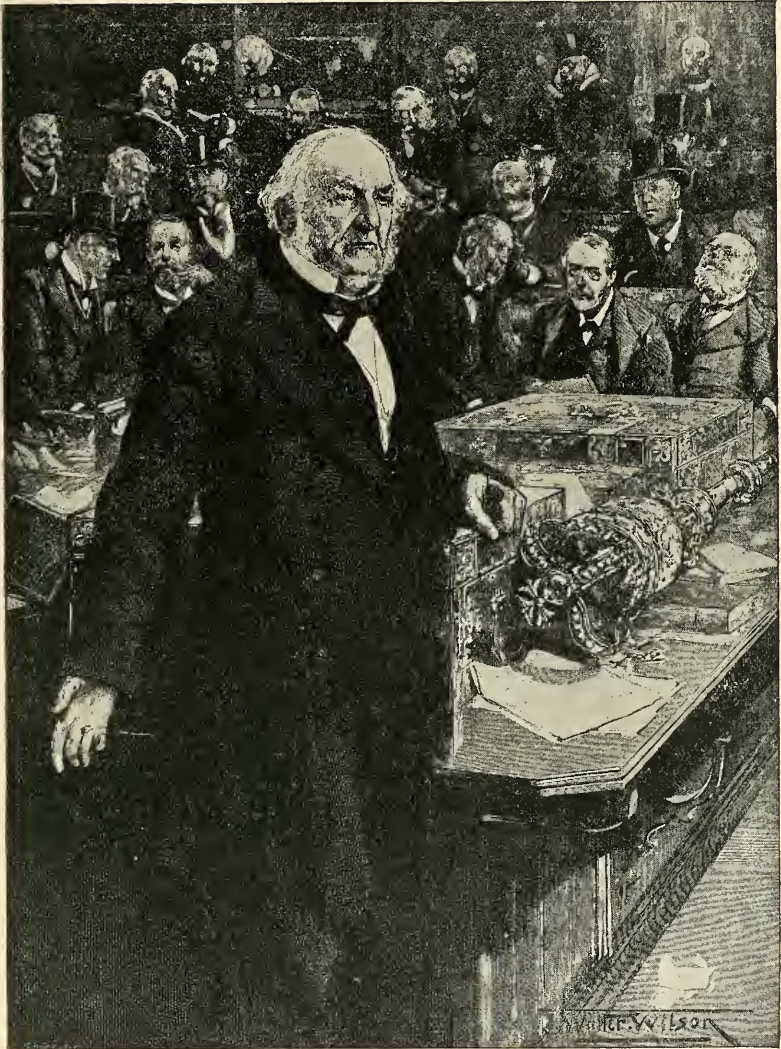
But the measure was not yet a law ; it must pass the House of Lords. "What will the Lords do?" was the question in every mouth, echoed in one of the most powerful pamphlets which proceeded from the pen of Brougham ; while Macaulay drew solemn warnings from the example of the French nobility, who had been swept away, as he declared, "because they had no sympathy with the people." Earl Grey was the first to speak upon the question. There was no need for him to argue in favor of Reform ; that even the Tories were willing to acknowledge now ; but a long debate followed, and the Bill was finally rejected. The Commons passed a vote of confidence, and the king prorogued Parliament, that the Bill might be again introduced. In the meanwhile the Lords received many warnings of what was in store for them if they persisted. The Duke of Wellington could not appear on the streets of London without being insulted ; a London mob broke all the windows on one side of the palace which had been the reward of his services to the country ; Lord Londonderry was struck senseless from his horse by a volley of stones ; Nottingham Castle, the residence of the Duke of Newcastle, was burned ; with everywhere gatherings of angry men, demanding the rights of freemen. Parliament met again in December, 1831 ; the Bill again passed the Commons, and the second reading passed the

Lords by a majority of nine. But this was not sufficient to insure its final success, and the Premier demanded, as a last resort, the power of creating a sufficient number of peers to insure its success. It was refused; he resigned; the king sent for the Duke of Wellington, and commissioned him to form a Ministry. "The Duke," as he was called *par excellence*, essayed the task; but Sir Robert Peel would have nothing to do with the matter, and without his assistance the Duke could not prevail upon a single man to accept office in such a Ministry. As he could not well do all himself, he resigned, and Grey was restored, with the power which he had demanded.

The Tory peers were furious, but helpless. One of them, when he learned what had been done, arose and left the House. Others continued their personal attacks upon the Premier; but it was all useless. On the 4th of June, 1832, the Reform Bill passed, received the assent of the Sovereign, and became the law of the land.

It is because the first Parliament elected after the passage of this famous measure was the first in which Mr. Gladstone sat, that we have devoted so much space to its consideration. The history of a statesman must include at least something of the history of the country during the time that he is active in her councils; sometimes, as in the present case, this history must extend still farther back; for, as we have seen, and shall see, the political creed of Gladstone was largely influenced by his admiration for a statesman whose life closed just as the ardent admirer entered upon manhood.

Mr. Gladstone was an intimate friend of the young Earl of Lincoln, the son of the Duke of Newcastle. That high-born opponent of Reform had demanded of the Reformers: "Have I not a right to do as I like with my own?" The question of course referred to the boroughs of which he was the patron; and passed into a political maxim. The new law decided the answer—that the boroughs were no longer his own but the property of a considerably increased number of electors, whose franchises were based on a property qualification much smaller than such a requirement had been under the old order of things. But His Grace had not accepted the answer, and resolved that he would still have the disposal of his borough of Newark. Accordingly, he invited his son's friend to stand for it. It was this invitation which cut Mr. Gladstone's continental tour short; he hurried back to England, to make his canvass.



THE LAST SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
AS PRIME MINISTER

The country was in a state of feverish expectation. What would be the composition of the first Reformed House of Commons? The Whigs looked for an immense majority, the Tories shook their heads and prophesied dreadful things. The last of September saw the young candidate busily canvassing the borough; a little later, his first election address was issued, which, as it was the first public utterance of the man who for more than fifty years has been a prominent figure in the English Parliament, we append in full:

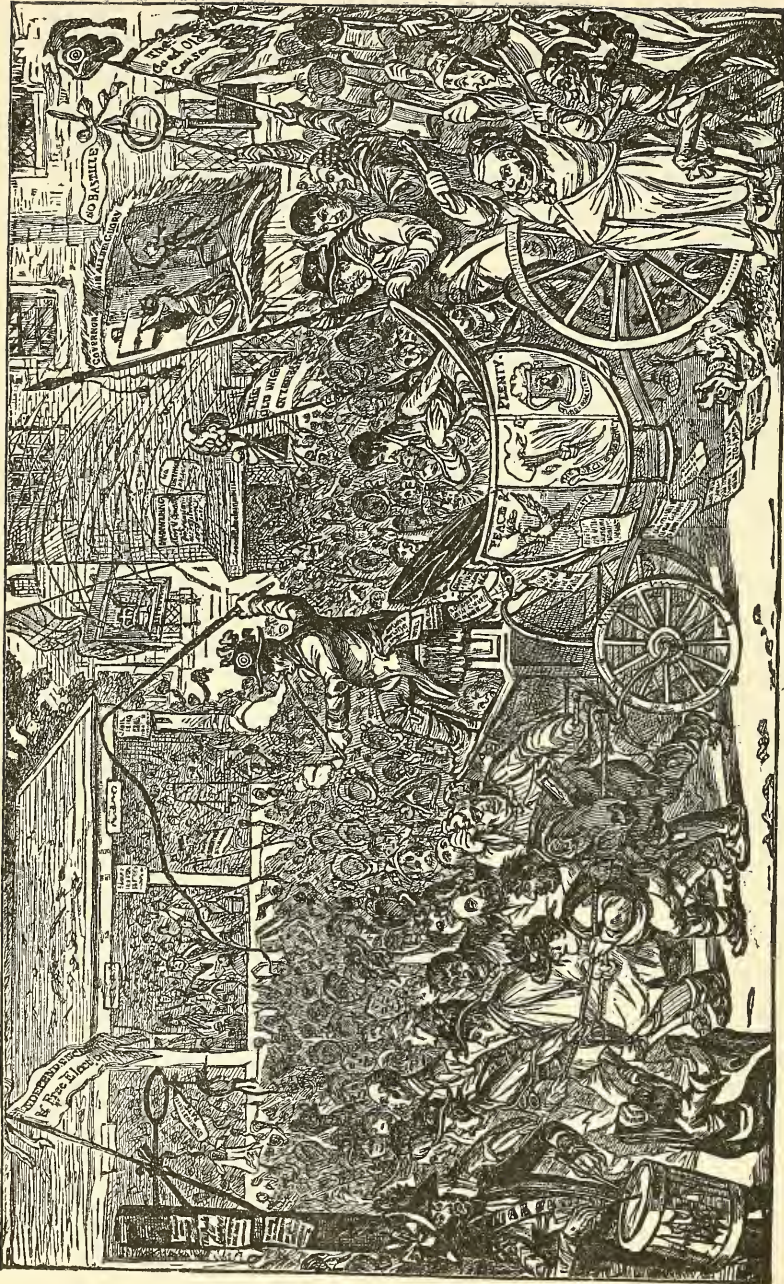
CLINTON ARMS, NEWARK, Oct. 9, 1832.

To the Worthy and Independent Electors of the Borough of Newark:

“Having now completed my canvass, I think it now my duty as well to remind you of the principles on which I have solicited your votes, as freely to assure my friends that its result has placed the result beyond a doubt. I have not requested your favor on the ground of adherence to the opinions of any man or party, further than such adherence can be fairly understood from the conviction I have not hesitated to avow, that we must watch and resist that unenquiring and indiscriminating desire for change amongst us, which threatens to produce, along with partial good, a melancholy preponderance of mischief, which, I am persuaded, would aggravate beyond computation the deep-seated evils of our social state, and the heavy burthens of our industrial classes; which, by disturbing our peace, destroys confidence, and strikes at the root of prosperity. Thus it has done already; and thus, we must therefore believe, it will do.

“For the mitigation of these evils, we must, I think, look not only to particular measures, but to the restoration of sounder general principles. I mean especially that principle on which alone the incorporation of Religion with the State in our Constitution can be defended; that the duties of governors are strictly and peculiarly religious; and that legislatures, like individuals, are bound to carry throughout their acts the spirit of the high truths they have acknowledged. Principles are now arrayed against our institutions; and, not by truckling nor by temporising, not by oppression nor corruption, but by principles they must be met.

“Among their first results should be a sedulous and special attention to the interests of the poor, founded upon the rule that those who are the least able to take care of themselves should be



MIDDLESEX ELECTION, 1768: SCENE AT THE BRENTFORD HUSTINGS.

most regarded by others. Particularly is it a duty to endeavor, by every means, that labor may receive adequate remuneration; which, unhappily among several classes of our fellow-countrymen, is not now the case. Whatever measures—therefore, whether by correction of the poor laws, allotment of cottage grounds, or otherwise—tend to promote this object, I deem entitled to the warmest support; with all such as are calculated to secure sound moral conduct in any class of society.

“I proceed to the momentous question of slavery, which I have found entertained among you, in that candid and temperate spirit which alone befits its nature, or promises to remove its difficulties. If I have not recognized the right of an irresponsible society to interpose between me and the electors, it has not been from any disrespect to its members, nor from any unwillingness to answer their or any other questions on which the electors may desire to know my views. To the esteemed secretary of the society I submitted my reasons for silence; and I made a point of stating those reasons to him, in his character of a voter.

“As regards the abstract lawfulness of slavery, I acknowledge it simply as importing the right of one man to the labor of another, and I rest it upon the fact that Scripture, the paramount authority upon such a point, gives directions to persons standing in the relation of master to slave, for their conduct in that relation; whereas, were the matter absolutely and necessarily sinful, it would not regulate the manner. Assuming sin as the cause of degradation, it strives, and strives most effectually, to cure the latter by extirpating the former. We are agreed that both the physical and the moral bondage of the slave are to be abolished. The question is as to the order, and the order only; now Scripture attacks the moral evil before the temporal one, and the temporal through the moral one, and I am content with the order which Scripture has established.

“To this end, I desire to see immediately set on foot, by impartial and sovereign authority, a universal and efficient system of Christian instruction, not intended to resist designs of individual piety and wisdom for the religious improvement of the negroes, but to do thoroughly what they can only do partially.

“As regards immediate emancipation, with or without compensation, there are several minor reasons against it; but that which weighs with me is, that it would, I much fear, change the evils now affecting the negro for others which are weightier; for a re-

lapse into deeper debasement, if not for bloodshed and internal war. Let fitness be made a condition for emancipation; and let us strive to bring him to that fitness by the shortest possible course. Let him enjoy the means of earning his freedom through honest and industrious habits; thus the same instruments which attain his liberty shall render him competent to use it; and thus, I earnestly trust, without risk of blood, without violation of property, with unimpaired benefit to the negro, and with the utmost speed which prudence will admit, we shall arrive at that exceedingly desirable consummation, the utter extinction of slavery.

“And now, gentlemen, as regards the enthusiasm with which you have rallied round your ancient flag, and welcomed the humble representative of those principles whose emblem it is, I trust that neither the lapse of time nor the seductions of prosperity can ever efface it from my memory. To my opponents, my acknowledgments are due for the good humor and kindness with which they have received me; and while I would thank my friends for their zealous and unwearied exertions in my favor, I briefly but emphatically assure them, that if promises be an adequate foundation of confidence, or experience a reasonable ground of calculation, our victory is sure.

“I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

Your obliged and obedient Servant,

W. E. GLADSTONE.”

This address suggests that Gladstone's opinions on the subject of slavery had been called in question by a society having for its object the suppression of slavery in the British dominions. Such was indeed the case; and the young candidate had good reasons for not desiring to state his opinions publicly. A considerable portion of his father's wealth was drawn from the West Indies, where he had large estates, worked wholly by slave labor. He was somewhat in the position of a scion of a Southern family, in American ante-bellum days, when called upon to defend the “peculiar institution” against the accusations of Northern friends. More positive condemnation of the slave question we could not expect; and we must admire the dexterity with which he has avoided committing himself.

The opponents of Mr. Gladstone were not to be despised. Mr. Handley appears to have been of much less note than Sergeant Wilde, who had much personal popularity in Newark, and was a

veteran platform orator. This gentleman, says a paper of the time, which bitterly opposed the Tories, was, on his entrance into town, met by almost the whole population; he had unsuccessfully contested the borough in the elections of 1829 and 1830; in 1831 he had been more successful, and had formed one of the majority for the Reform Bill. But the very measure which his Liberal supporters had hoped would secure his re-election, was to be here condemned by the election of a Tory candidate.

The election did not take place until December. In the mean time, it may be believed that the various candidates and their friends were not idle. Mr. Gladstone, though a stranger to the town, and hence under some disadvantage as compared with the well-known and popular Mr. Wilde, had made many friends among the electors; and had won the highest praises from the members of the Red Club, an influential Tory organization. This numbered some six hundred and fifty or more voters, and these were all pledged to the support of the duke's candidate. Others there were, who were positively promised; and the election was well-nigh assured.

It was not to be won without the usual disagreeable concomitants, however. "Who is Mr. Gladstone?" was the question somewhat contemptuously asked by the adherents of the late member for the borough. The question was of course answered in two ways; said the Tory organ, *Old England*:

"He is the son of the friend of Mr. Canning, the great Liverpool merchant. He is, we understand, not more than four or five and twenty, but he has won golden opinions from all sorts of people, and promises to be an ornament to the House of Commons." On the other hand, the *Regulator*, the Whig organ, answered the same query in this way: "Mr. Gladstone is the son of Gladstone of Liverpool, a person who (we are now speaking of the father) has amassed a large fortune by West India dealings. In other words, a great part of his gold has sprung from the blood of black slaves. Respecting the youth himself, a person fresh from college, and whose mind is as much like a sheet of foolscap paper as possible, he was utterly unknown. He came recommended by no claim in the world except the will of the duke." All of which was perfectly true, though stated with rather too much contempt for what we think of the long famous Liberal.

The campaign was a hot one, and not unmarked by those at-

tempts at wit which are frequently no more than so many insults to the person against whom they are leveled. Among these jokes, of the more innocent and allowable kind was a procession which passed through the streets, bearing a coffin inscribed "Young Gladstone's Ambition." The Whigs, however, were false prophets; for the event showed that the coffin held a very lively corpse.

There was considerable enthusiasm for him, even among those who had formerly supported Sergeant Wilde; for his straightforward manner and speeches made friends among all. Newark was not altogether a pocket borough, in the sense that some others were at that date; for the electors numbered about fifteen hundred and many of them had minds of their own, very different in bent from that of the duke. His influence was considerable; but so strong was Sergeant Wilde in the hearts of the Reform Whigs, newly encouraged by the passage of the great measure, that it was said that if the duke had brought forward his own son, Lord Lincoln, as a candidate, he would have been defeated.

The nomination was held Dec. 11th, the election being fixed for the 12th and 13th. Mr. Gladstone was the third of the candidates in the nomination. His experience upon the hustings can not have been a very pleasant one, as he was assailed by questions from his opponent's supporters. One of these hostile electors demanded if he were not the Duke of Newcastle's nominee. Now, in point of fact, he was the Duke of Newcastle's nominee, and everybody there present was perfectly aware of the fact; but the question was asked, that an argument might be based upon the answer; for the fact was not to be denied. Mr. Gladstone's enemies aver that he is skilled in the art of talking without saying anything; of satisfying his listeners without making any assertions to commit himself. If this is so, he began at an early age; for he certainly evaded this embarrassing question in quite a neat manner. He informed the gentleman that he would like to know what he meant by the expression used; if the elector would tell him what was implied by the term "the Duke of Newcastle's nominee," he (Mr. Gladstone) would tell him whether the term applied to him or not. The Newarker, who thought that he had his enemy in a tight place, fell into the trap at once.

The duke's nominee, he explained, was a person sent to be pushed down the throats of the electors, whether they liked him

or not. Whereupon Mr. Gladstone suavely answered that, according to that definition, he was not the duke's nominee; he had come to Newark upon the invitation of the Red Club, the respectability and intelligence of which no one could impugn. This invitation, he said, had doubtless been extended to him in consequence of his friendship with the Earl of Lincoln, as the club had applied to the duke to know if he could recommend a suitable candidate to them; and his Grace had replied by suggesting himself (Mr. Gladstone). It is to be hoped that the elector was satisfied with the answer; at any rate, he seems to have had no more to say.

Another question remained to be met—it was that which he had evaded so skillfully in his address. His answer upon the hustings seems to have been simply an enlargement of that which had been given in print, but so stated that it was less equivocal in its condemnation of the slave traffic and more certainly in favor of emancipation.

The candidates being called upon to address the meeting, Sergeant Wilde chose the slavery question as the chief subject of his speech, which lasted for more than three hours. He was followed by Mr. Handley, who also spoke a long time, and mainly on the same topic, to show that his humanity was at least equal to that of the first speaker. Mr. Gladstone was thus at a considerable disadvantage; not only did he have to reply to these speeches on a subject which he could hardly discuss freely, but he must speak to men worn out by listening to two long speeches, following the lively dialogues, some small portion of which we have described. He had hardly begun to speak when his voice was drowned by the hooting and hissing which showed their disinclination to listen to him, and he soon found it would be impossible to proceed. A show of hands was demanded. There were few or none for Mr. Gladstone, beyond his supporters on the hustings; and a poll was demanded. From the first, this told a very different tale; for he took the lead from the start, and was never overtaken by his rivals. When the voting was over, the result stood: Gladstone, 882; Handley, 793; Wilde, 719.

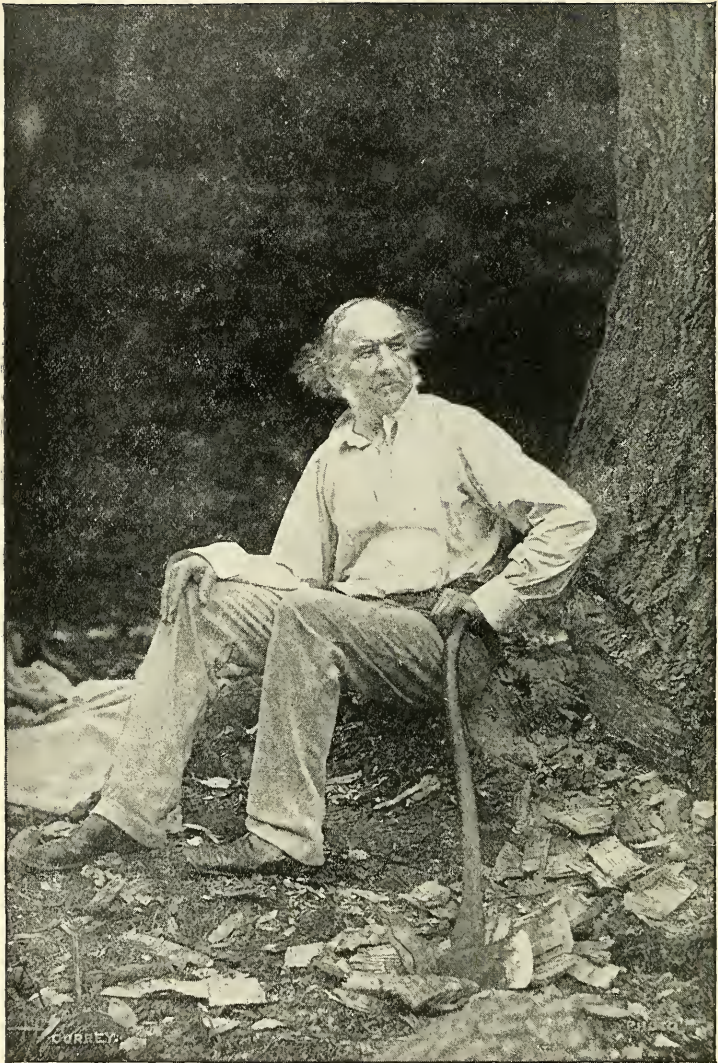
A few days after this election, Mr. Gladstone addressed a meeting of the Constitutional Club at Nottingham. Commenting upon his address, a journal of the day observed: "He is a gentleman of amiable manners and the most extraordinary talent;

and we venture to predict, without the slightest exaggeration, that he will one day be classed amongst the most able statesmen in the British Senate." Without exaggeration, he *has* been classed amongst the most able statesmen in the British Senate.

The first Reform Parliament met Jan. 29, 1833. Its composition was not what had been expected ; for now that the great measure had been carried, many of the Liberal-Conservatives had returned to the allegiance from which the popular commotion had frightened them ; the Whig majority was not nearly so large as the Whigs themselves had hoped, or the Tories had feared. But there was still a sufficient majority to make the party of Reform a formidable enemy.

There remained at least one great question to be settled, which had been agitated for a number of years. Before the American Revolution began, William Wilberforce, then a boy at school, had begun his long crusade against slavery by a letter written to a York newspaper. Of efforts in that direction he never wearied, until the hand of death itself was upon him. The slave-trade was abolished in England and her colonies in 1806, two years before the time when, by the Constitution framed in 1787, it was abolished in this country. But slavery still existed, and the friends of freedom, cheered by this partial success, brought new energy to the completion of their task. At the time of which we write, Wilberforce was more than seventy years old, and the ill health from which he had suffered for a number of years had long kept him from active exertions. Compelled in 1825 to retire from Parliament, where for thirty-six years he had never ceased to press the great question, his mantle fell upon Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, then plain Mr. Buxton, who had long been a Parliamentary advocate of every measure which could improve the condition of the helpless and oppressed. He was no unworthy successor of the great apostle of the abolition of slavery, and it was by his efforts that the bill to do away with slavery in the British colonies was introduced in this session of Parliament.

Nor was the slave without other and powerful advocates. The brilliant eloquence of Macaulay, the son of that Zachary Macaulay who had done as much as any one for the abolition of slavery, was enlisted in its behalf ; and Brougham had thrilled the House with his appalling stories of the abuse of despotic power in the colonies.



MR. GLADSTONE CUTTING TREES AT HAWARDEN

Much to the disappointment of those so much interested in this question, the royal speech did not make any mention of it. The abolitionists at once demanded to know if the Government meant to take any action in this connection. The Ministry asked for time to consider, which was granted. The matter was submitted to Lord Stanley, afterward Earl of Derby. He was the very man to whom it should have been intrusted, for when his feelings were aroused, he rose to the height of a genuine eloquence, and the rarity of such occasions made them doubly influential upon his listeners. His sympathies were excited on behalf of the slaves, and aided by the steady forethought which was one of his marked qualities, he was able to devise a

plan which, with a few modifications, proved to be acceptable to the two parties. All children born after the passage of the act, or less than six years old at the time of its passage, were declared free, though subject to such restrictions as might be necessary for their support and maintenance; all persons over that age, registered as slaves, were to be apprenticed to their masters for a stated length of time, to be fixed by

Parliament; the Government was to remunerate the slave-owners for the loss thus occasioned, and the sum of £20,000,000 was set aside for that purpose. This was the Act of Emancipation as it passed the House; it differed but slightly from the bill proposed by the Colonial Secretary.

The debate was a bitter one, and sometimes assumed a personal form, or as nearly that as the rules of the House of Commons will allow. It was the business of those who had profited by it to defend the iniquitous system of traffic in human beings and the evils resulting from it. There was at least one such in the House. "There is not a stone in the walls of Liverpool but is cemented by the blood of Africans," the people of that city had once been

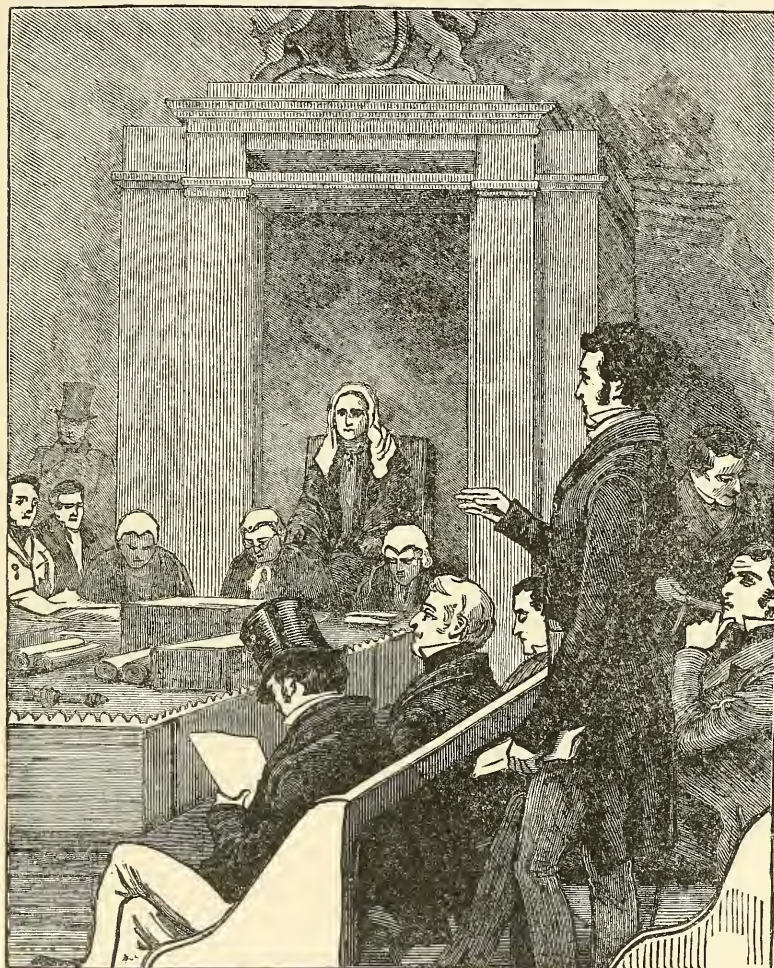


William Wilberforce.

told, and truly. Much of the wealth which had enabled Mr. Gladstone the elder to take such a high position among his fellow-merchants had been, like theirs, drawn from West Indian estates, where the labor was done altogether by slaves. These estates were so large, and Mr. Gladstone's name so well known (Sir Robert Peel had in 1819 quoted the opinion of "Mr. Gladstone, the great Liverpool merchant," as high authority upon some question of expedience), that they formed a convenient example. During the course of the debate, Lord Howick referred to the decrease in the number of slaves on an estate in Demerara, owned by Mr. Gladstone, and which he claimed was produced by the inhuman manner in which the slaves were worked. The elder Gladstone was without a seat in the House of Commons at this time, and hence he was referred to by name; and his son found himself obliged to answer the accusations thus brought against the name. His maiden speech in the House was delivered May 17, 1833. He did not defend slavery in general, but contented himself with asserting the groundlessness of some of the statements which Lord Howick had made; and showed that the decrease had been caused by the transfer of some of the slaves to other estates. He admitted that the cultivation of sugar was more detrimental to those engaged in it than some other crops, but instanced trades in England itself, such as painting, and working in lead mines, which were similarly injurious to those engaged in them. The speech does not seem to have been regarded as of any importance to the subject in general; it was rather a defense of his father personally, and a proof of the well-known kindness of the overseer employed by him.

His second speech followed this after but a short interval, and was of the same general character. But in this he took a somewhat broader view of the matter, and defined his own opinions regarding the subject with more precision. Beginning with the charges which Lord Howick had made, he showed yet more plainly that these especial wrongs of the slave were without actual existence. Proceeding to the discussion of the general principles involved, he confessed with shame and pain that many cases of wanton cruelty had occurred in the colonies, both in branding the slaves, and whipping them beyond the limits of human endurance; he added that these cruelties would always be practised, under any system of slavery, in some instances at least; and while the West Indies represented these as rare and

isolated cases, and maintained that the ordinary relation of master and slave was a friendly one, he admitted that a system which permitted these things is necessarily repugnant to the principles of civilization and Christianity by which the British



Gladstone's First Speech in the House of Commons.

empire is ruled. He demanded that the planters should be re-compensated for the loss which would be entailed upon them by emancipation (the original proposition was that the Government should loan £15,000,000 to enable the planters to carry on their

plantations), and that a plan should be adopted by which the deserving negroes might be freed before the idle and incompetent ones.

When we consider the circumstances in which the young M. P. was placed, and the feelings with which he had been educated, we can hardly expect any more generous speech than this utterance. Had he been brought up with such an abhorrence of slavery as had been inculcated in the minds of Wilberforce's children, he would doubtless have spoken more strongly; but he was naturally one of the opponents of abolition, like the slave-owners of America. Had the American Abolitionists acted with as much consideration as Lord Stanley, the slave-owners would perhaps have responded in the same spirit; and Emancipation would have been a peaceful measure.

The bill passed its second reading ten days before the death of Wilberforce; its success was assured by the majorities which had sanctioned it thus far, and the known attitude of many of the Lords; thus the great, good old man had the satisfaction of knowing, in the hours of death, that his life had not been spent in vain; that the impetus which he had given to this philanthropic effort had secured its ultimate success, and laid the foundation for the happiness of thousands of oppressed and benighted men.

The question of the abolition of slavery having been settled, there arose that ghost which continually haunts the halls of Parliament, and, like Banquo's, will not down. This was a form of the Irish question, at that particular time embodied in an effort to settle the difficulties arising from the difference between the Established Church of Ireland and that of the people. The act of Union had provided that the Episcopal Church, as we know it, should be the Church of Ireland as it was the Church of England; and in every parish there was a duly presented incumbent. Sometimes the whole representation of the Established Church in a parish would be the incumbent and his clerk. Under such circumstances, the collection of tithes, from people who supported another church, was not only a great hardship, but well-nigh impossible. The Government persisted in supporting churches and the clergy, whether there were any communicants or not. The priests had been tacitly exempted from the payment of tithes until about 1830, when some over-zealous tithe-proctor seized a priest's horse in default of payment. The peo-

ple in general had long been accustomed to allow their property to be seized in this way, as they would not pay voluntarily for the maintenance of the Establishment, and the Government insisted upon making collections. But to have the priest himself thus taxed for the support of the alien religion, was too much for their patience. There had been riots before this time, when the police had fired among the crowd with deadly effect; riots described with such pathos by the great Irish orator, O'Connell, that young Charles Dickens, a reporter in the House of Commons, and the most skillful that ever did that work, laid down his pencil and declared that he could not go on; that speaker's subject and manner had too powerfully affected him. The priests now denounced the payment of tithes from the pulpit; it was the one thing which had been wanting; and the dexterity and perseverance which the people exercised in avoiding the payment of the hated tax would, if applied to their daily work, have enabled them to pay it ten times over. But as in the case of a celebrated small tax upon tea, which the British Government once imposed, it was the principle which was at stake. The authorities tried every plan to collect the tithes, but it was of no avail. Finally, in this session of Parliament, a plan was proposed, which would enable the incumbents to hold their own, for a while at least. The Government was not without feeling for the clergy, whose lot was not a very enviable one; this same tax, which there was such an ado about collecting, was their means of subsistence; whatever were the merits of the case, they were not to blame for the fact that the Church of the State and the Church of the people were not the same; and the Government which had placed them in their present position could not, with common decency, leave them to starve. The arrears of the tithes amounted, in 1833, to more than a million and a quarter sterling; an arrearage which was distributed among an immense number of men whose sole means of living it was. Lord Althorp brought forward a bill which provided for the Government assuming this debt, and looking to its own collectors for repayment. Mr. Gladstone spoke against this bill, which, he said, he feared would place the Irish Church on an untenable foundation. Admitting the principle that the State ought to maintain the Established Church, he denied that the means provided in this plan were adapted to secure the ends wished. Mr. Gladstone seems to have been extremely unfortunate in his choice of subjects on

which to speak, for in this case, as in the first, he was left woefully in the minority when it came to a division.

Nor did any better effects result from his speech on the subject of admission to the universities, upon which Parliament found it necessary to legislate. It was proposed to remove the necessity of subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles; and the bill passed by a majority of 89. We find no further evidence of the activity of this young member of the opposition during the remainder of this year. The topics of importance had all been discussed and settled, for the time at least. Slavery was abolished, though it would not actually cease for several years to come; and the affair had been managed in such a way that the fears of the planters had been allayed, and the numerous predictions of ungovernable tumults and murderous riots by the negroes as the result of their emancipation had been completely falsified by the event. The troubles of the Irish Church had been settled for as long a time as the amount of money appropriated would pay the tithes; though the Irish people were still to be oppressed, to repay the Government for this outlay. The requirements of admission to the University of Oxford had been so far changed that others than members of the Established Church might now enter that institution of learning, which had never swayed from strict orthodoxy since its early lapse in defending Wiclif. Such were three of the great measures of the Parliament which met immediately after the passage of the first Reform Bill.

But the Government which had passed these measures was materially weakened by the loss of one of its members. Lord Althorp, who had held the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer, had, by the death of his father, become Lord Spencer and a member of the House of Lords. This made it necessary for a new Chancellor to be appointed, and raised further difficulties peculiar to the situation. Lord Althorp's influence had been sufficient to keep the party of the Government tolerably united; the Prime Minister, Earl Grey, and his successor, Viscount Melbourne, being of course removed from any direct influence over the members of the lower house; but now there was no one who could prevent fatal divisions among the Whigs of the Commons.

The king saw the difficulties which had arisen, and was besides of the opinion that the days of this party were numbered, so far as their present tenure of office was concerned. He refused,



The Duke of Wellington.

then, to allow the appointment of Lord Althorp's successor; Lord Melbourne and his colleagues were dismissed, and the Duke of Wellington was summoned. He advised that Sir Robert Peel should be sent for, as he felt unequal or unwilling himself to undertake the work of forming a cabinet; the old soldier had not quite forgiven the people of England for passing the Reform Bill, and could not stoop to take office under a Reformed Government. His counsel was accepted, and Sir Robert, who was traveling in Italy, hastened home.

This was in December, 1834. The new Premier had watched, as all men of ability in similar positions must, the rise of the younger members of Parliament, who were destined to carry on the work of ruling the country when he and his generation should have passed away. Among such the young member for Newark had not been unnoted. The skill and ability with which he had spoken against the measures of the Government had not escaped the watchful eyes of the elder man; and when the new cabinet was formed, though there was no room in it for a man of barely twenty-five, the subordinate post of Junior Lord of the Treasury was offered him, and, as may easily be guessed, not declined.

In this connection, we note that though the action of William IV. in dismissing a Ministry which had as yet sustained no notable defeat in the House of Commons appears arbitrary and opposed to the principles of Constitutional Government, it was in strict accordance with the practice of his father, his brother, and himself at other times. Queen Victoria is the first English sovereign whose ministers have invariably been chosen with reference to the demands of the Commons, and retained in office until the Commons have demanded a change.




DIVISION LOBBY IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

CHAPTER III.

EARLY OFFICIAL LIFE.

Whigs Versus Tories - Trained in Early Life to Speak in Public--Account of Sir Robert Peel—Events Following the Passage of the Reform Act—Mr. Gladstone as Junior Lord of the Treasury—Canadian Troubles of 1837—Death of King William IV.—Address to His Constituents—Accession of Victoria to the Throne—More Agitation of the Slavery Question—Debate on the War with China—Queen Victoria's Marriage—Popularity of the Prince Consort.

IR ROBERT PEEL was the eldest son of a baronet of the same name, whose wealth and prominence as a manufacturer had secured the elevation to a baronetage from Mr. Pitt.

His Toryism was well defined and uncompromising; so that when, on the birth of his son, he vowed he would give him to his country, it was understood by all hearers that the boy was to be devoted to the Tory party. But in the days which the younger Peel was to see, the old-time distinctions of Tory and Whig were to go out of fashion; and in their place were to come Conservatives and Liberals. There had indeed been use for these two latter names before, but only as minor branches of the two parties; after the passage of the Reform Bill, it seems that the broadly marked distinctions were permitted to fade out; and the more moderate parties obtained the ascendancy. There are still Whigs and Tories, it is true, but they are looked upon as followers of a fashion which has long ago passed away. It is our pride that we lean toward our opponents' party so far that we can see the reasons which influence their actions.

The education of the boy thus devoted to his party was conducted by the father with the most jealous care that it should be such as would fit him to take part in parliamentary proceedings to the best possible advantage. From childhood he was trained to speak in public, by being placed upon a table each Sunday, when the family returned from church, and bidden to repeat as much of the sermon as he could recall. At Harrow, where he was the

form-fellow of Lord Byron, he won golden opinions by his diligence and ability. At Oxford, where he was entered at Christ Church, he was the first to win a double-first class under the new and more stringent examination. Hampden and Whateley were among the competitors whom he distanced. He entered the House of Commons for the first time as the member for a borough which was regularly sold to the highest bidder, and his first speech showed that the Tory Government had gained a valuable supporter. He had won his reputation as a speaker by an eloquent eulogy upon the Duke of Wellington, which he found occasion to deliver in 1811, on the occasion of the British Government subsidizing some Portuguese troops. How far this influenced the Duke in his after treatment of Mr. Peel, it is impossible to say; the man of the strictest justice is often unconsciously swayed by some such action of those with whom he has to deal. He was barely twenty-four when he was made Chief Secretary for Ireland; a post which then, as now, was not without its difficulties. It is hard to say whether it is a matter of greater difficulty to deal with an opponent like O'Connell, or one like Parnell; the scathing satire and coarse rough humor were quite enough to keep the young minister busy, without imagining the difficulties which might beset some successor from quite a different kind of man.

As a matter of course, he was opposed to the claims of the Catholics being granted; there were but few of the Tories who were not; and this led to the conferring of a nickname upon him which is remembered now as one of the happiest puns ever perpetrated in politics: the opponent of the Irish Catholics was dubbed "Orange Peel." But he was not wholly acceptable to the party for whom he was thus named. His moderation in some respects offended them; but he held the office for a long time.

His duel with O'Connell was long made the means of casting a good deal of ridicule upon him. O'Connell had taunted Peel with being afraid to use certain expressions in any place where he could be called to account for them. Peel resented this at once, and authorized a friend to act as his second. O'Connell promptly named one of his friends for the same duty. The two seconds met, but were unable to agree from which party the challenge was due. To settle this question, they eventually challenged one another. O'Connell claimed that Peel was trying by this means to get out of it; Peel found another second, less

quarrelsome than the first, and challenged O'Connell. The latter was arrested, and bound over to keep the peace; they agreed to go abroad; but O'Connell was again arrested, and not released until he had given bonds not to quit the country. Such was the end of the famous duel between O'Connell and Peel, if it is not too great a bull to speak of the end of an affair which never took place.

To go back to the graver events of Peel's life. There is one thing which was done in connection with his Irish Secretaryship which was a real and much-needed reform: the military ceased to be employed in the repression of popular outbreaks, and a civil force of police was substituted. It seems to make but little difference by what agency oppression is carried on; but a little reflection will make it plain that a police force, responsible to the civil authorities, is vastly preferable to soldiery, commanded by their own officers, even though the latter are nominally under the direction of the magistrates.

Resigning the Irish Secretaryship in 1817, he was out of office for three years. In 1819 he showed remarkable financial ability in connection with the action which was taken on the redemption of Bank of England notes in gold. The Bank Act, which he was mainly instrumental in framing, is still the law which governs the monetary system of the country.

Like his great rival, Canning, Peel defended the course of the Government in those oppressions which culminated in the Peterloo Massacre; and, like Canning, he would have nothing to do with the action of the king against his queen, when Caroline of Brunswick claimed the title of Queen Consort. Made Home Secretary in 1821, he was subordinate, in a measure, to Mr. Canning, whose brilliant talents overshadowed all of his colleagues, though he was not the nominal head of the Government. Here again he introduced reforms, simplifying and humanizing the laws in regard to crime. Up to 1810, there were no fewer than two hundred and eighty-three laws upon the statute book relating to offences for which death was the penalty. Peel's was the first hand that dealt a blow at this cruel and ineffective legislation; and although the reform which he instituted was not a complete one, it must be remembered that there are limits to the possibilities of changing existing laws, which do not all arise from the unwillingness of the statesman.

We have already noted the contest which ensued when Lord

Liverpool died. After the death of Canning, Peel found that it was impossible to resist the claims of the Catholics any longer. It had been predicted by a close observer, who watched the course of affairs from a place of privilege, that "the march of time and the state of Ireland will effect it in spite of everything," and Catholic Emancipation became an accomplished fact.

With his party, Peel had been in the minority during the Parliament elected after the passage of the Reform Act; but this minority diminished daily. It was at this time that Sir Robert,



Sir Robert Peel.

the leader of his party, had the good sense to adopt the newer name by which it has been known since his time; and men who had been bitterly opposed to Tories found themselves not unwilling to give support to Conservative measures. At the same time, the services which he had himself rendered to the old Tory party made the continuance of its supporters' allegiance sure.

The Whigs were suffering from the consequences of victory, and it had become impossible for the leaders of the party to

please the less progressive adherents and the new Whigs, or Liberals, as they had begun to call themselves, at the same time. Although there had been no direct rebuke of the Whig policy in the House of Commons, the king was not far out of the way in dismissing his ministers, and forming a Conservative cabinet.

Mr. Gladstone's acceptance of the office of Junior Lord of the Treasury was dated Dec. 24, 1834. According to English law and precedent, by accepting an office of profit under the Crown, he vacated his seat and the Speaker issued his writ for a new election at Newark. In his address to the electors, Gladstone reviewed the history of the session, showing how the relative positions of the two parties had essentially changed since the members had subscribed the roll. He seems to have thought that with the Whig Ministry Reform had run mad, and deprecates the fact that there were even "those among the servants of the king who did not scruple to solicit the suffrages of their constituents with promises to act on the principles of Radicalism." An intelligent man could not deny the necessity for many reforms; nor did the young candidate attempt such a hopeless and useless task. "The question has then," he went on to say, "as it appears to me, become, whether we are to hurry onward at intervals, but not long ones, through the medium of the ballot, short parliaments, and other measures called popular, into republicanism or anarchy; or whether, independently of all party considerations, the people will support the Crown, in the discharge of its duty to maintain in efficiency and transmit in safety those old and valuable institutions under which our country has greatly flourished." In regard to Church matters, however, he saw that there was real need of reform. "Let me add, shortly but emphatically, concerning the reform of actual abuses, whether in Church or State, that I regard it as a sacred duty—a duty at all times, and certainly not least at a period like this, when the danger of neglecting it is most clear and imminent—a duty not inimical to true and determined Conservative principle, nor a curtailment and modification of such principle, but its legitimate consequence, or rather an actual element of its composition."

He was confronted at first by the same opponents who had contested the former election; but Mr. Handley having withdrawn, Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal candidate, Sergeant Wilde, were returned without opposition. The people of Newark felt that they had reason to be proud of their representative; his

had been a brilliant record, for a young man who had but recently entered upon the arena of political life. According to the time-honored custom, he was chaired, and as the procession wended its way through the streets, he was received by all parties with the most flattering enthusiasm. At the rooms of his Committee, Mr. Gladstone addressed the electors to the number of six thousand, and was greeted with deafening cheers.

Mr. Gladstone did not long hold the office to which he had been appointed so shortly after his chief's accession to power; but he left it to accept one which was more desirable—that of Under-Secretary for the Colonies. This change took place shortly after Parliament assembled, in February, 1835. Acting in this capacity, he brought in his first bill in March of that year. Intended for the better regulation of the carriage of passengers in merchant vessels to North America, it contained many humane provisions, and was most favorably received.

But the Peel Ministry was a short-lived one. It came to grief upon the question of the Irish Church, and the ministers were again defeated on the question of appropriating the surplus funds of the Church to the general education of all classes of Christians. In the bitter and acrimonious debates which attended these two defeats, Mr. Gladstone was noticeable by the courteous bearing which has always distinguished him, and the general urbanity of his manners.

Having thus lost the support of the House, the Peel Ministry of course resigned, including the officers who were without seats in the cabinet. Mr. Gladstone was again in opposition, and remained there for some time.

Shortly after this, we find him again defending the West Indian planters from the accusations which were brought against them as a class, but based upon the cruelties practiced by a few; for the apprenticeship system gave the masters almost as much power, while it lasted, as the old system of slavery.

After a speech supporting the Government against the House of Assembly of Canada, when the Canadian troubles of 1837 came before Parliament, Mr. Gladstone again spoke in opposition on the question of Church Rates; and it is said by a competent authority that this was the best and most impassioned speech which he had yet made. His opposition, however, did not produce any appreciable effect, as the Government carried the measure which had been proposed.

The death of King William IV., which occurred June 20th, 1837, made another general election necessary; and Mr. Gladstone turned again to his faithful constituency of Newark. But his fame had spread. During the four years that he had now been in Parliament, he had most completely demonstrated his ability.



Princess Victoria in Girlhood.

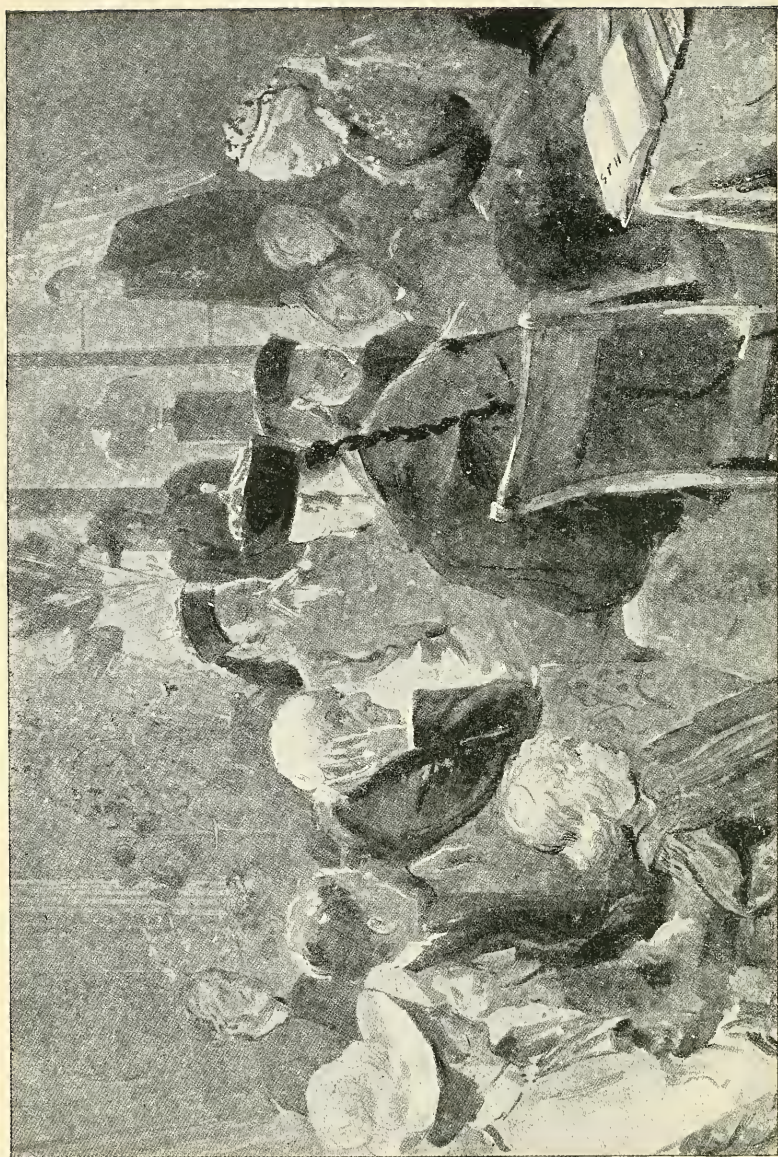
and the Tories of Manchester desired to show their appreciation of it. A deputation of three gentlemen waited upon Mr. Gladstone, and invited him to stand for Manchester. The invitation was perhaps as great a compliment as they could pay him, but unfortunately, in the great manufacturing center, the defeat of

the Tory candidates was almost a certainty. To use the expressive language of a newspaper of the day, "he did not allow them to make a fool of him, and declined the invitation." Of course the mere question of victory or defeat was not the reason on which the declination was based; Newark was the first borough for which he had stood; it had shown its appreciation of him at the second election at which he had been a candidate; and to desert them now, after again presenting himself to them, and issuing an address, would have been wholly unjustifiable.

But the Manchester people would not take no for an answer; and although Mr. Gladstone had flatly refused to stand, they placed his name before the electors. This was calculated to make trouble at Newark, and the much sought member issued an address to his constituents, dated July 22d, 1837. In this address he said:

"My attention has just been called to a paragraph in the Nottingham and Newark *Mercury* of this morning, which announces, on the authority of some person unknown, that I have consented to be put in nomination for Manchester, and have promised, if elected, to sit in Parliament as its representative. I have to inform you that these reports are wholly without foundation. I was honored on Wednesday with a deputation from Manchester, empowered to request that I would become a candidate for the borough. I felt the honor, but I answered unequivocally, and at once, that I must absolutely decline the invitation; and I am much at a loss to conceive how 'a most respectable correspondent' could have cited language which I never used, from a letter which I never wrote. Lastly, I beg to state in terms as explicit as I can command, that I hold myself bound in honor to the electors of Newark, that I adhere in every particular to the tenor of my late address, and that I place my humble services during the ensuing Parliament entirely and unconditionally at their disposal."

But in spite of this explicit and emphatic denial that he had accepted the invitation, his name was still used at Manchester. It was reported that he had promised £500 toward the expenses of the election, if he were returned; and his name was actually presented at the polls. Although the candidate himself had thus discountenanced the whole affair, the Liberals were rather taken aback at the strength of the Tory vote. The Conservatives, after the election was over, gave a dinner to their unwilling candidate,



MR. GLADSTONE AND LI HUNG CHANG IN THE LIBRARY AT HAWARDEN CASTLE

at which he congratulated them on the energy which they had shown, and predicted that their strength would be the nucleus of future success.

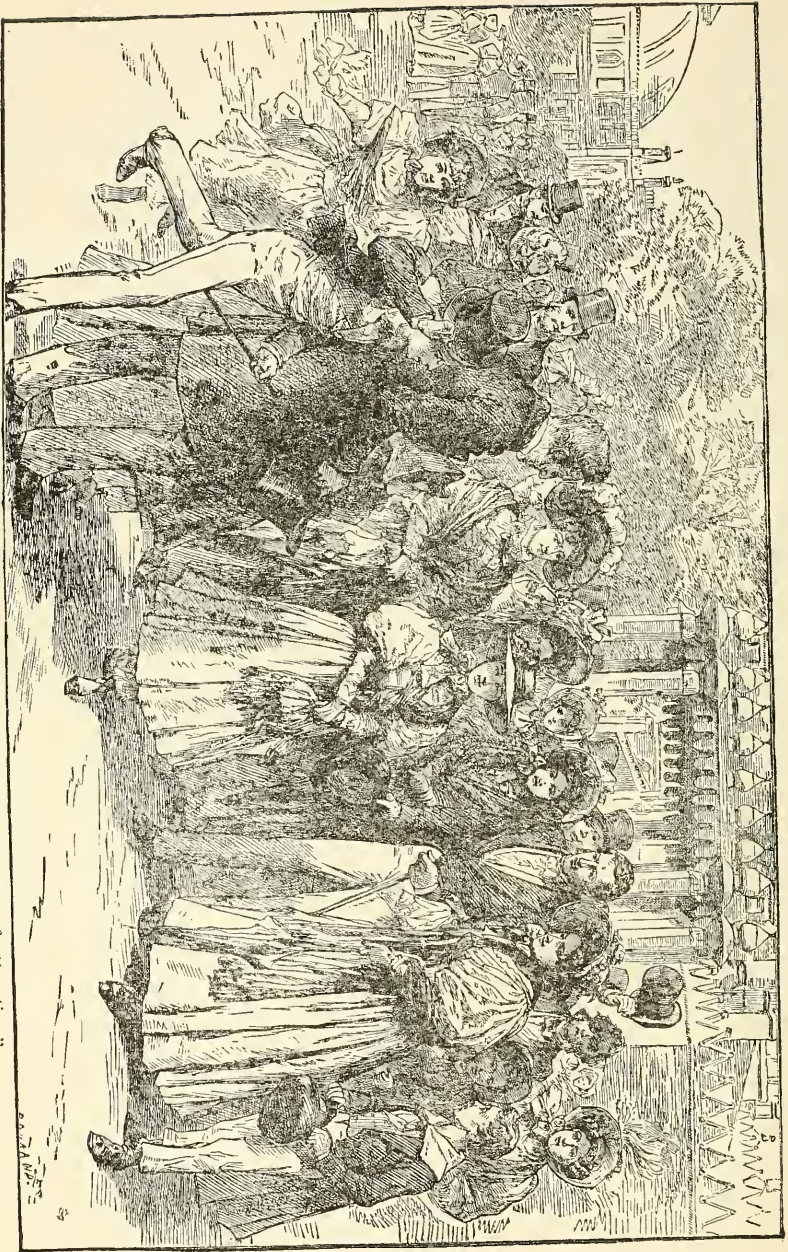
The accession of the young Princess Victoria to the throne of Great Britain, upon the death of William IV., was an event of profound import to the whole English-speaking race and to humanity at large. George III. had left seven sons. Of these the eld-



Duchess of Kent, Mother of Queen Victoria.

est, who succeeded him as George IV., had but one child, the Princess Charlotte, who died in 1817. The second son died without heirs; William IV. had no children. After the death of the Princess Charlotte, the fourth son, Edward, then a man well on toward middle age, had married the Dowager Princess of Leiningen, whose brother had been the husband of the Princess

“Wherever the little maiden went, as was natural, she was the centre of attraction.”



Charlotte, and thus looked forward to being consort of the Queen of England. There was but one child born of this marriage, a daughter, who was intended to be named for her uncle and grandfather, and for Alexander I. of Russia. But the Czar insisted that Alexandrina must be the first name; whereupon the Prince Regent declared that Georgina should be second to no other name in the list of those borne by an English princess. The baby was accordingly christened *Alexandrina Victoria*, the latter being her mother's name.

The Princess Victoria was born May 24th, 1818; and eight months later her father, the Duke of Kent, died. The widowed mother of the heiress presumptive to the throne had a difficult task to perform in the education of a daughter destined for such a lofty position; but she received no help from her husband's family. She was decidedly unpopular with them and with the people generally; and she did not make much effort to please the family into which she had married, having her own opinion of their morals. It is to her credit that she resolutely stifled all those natural longings for her native land and the society of her own relatives, and educated her daughter entirely in England, surrounded by English influences.

The little princess grew up without any clear idea of her own importance, although, as Mrs. Oliphant says, in her *Life of the Queen*, "wherever the little maiden went, as was natural, she was the centre of attraction" to the people who realized her high destiny. She was twelve years old before she was allowed to learn that she was next in the line of succession. The important communication was then made only in order that she might understand the reason for imposing more tasks upon her than were required of her cousins of less importance; and the strict discipline which had always been used was in no way relaxed. As she grew older, there was much complaint from the King that the heir to the throne was not permitted to join in the festivities of the court; but the Duchess wisely judged that her young daughter was better away from such influences; for it has been said that "scandals made the court of George IV. infamous, and that of William IV. ridiculous."

The Princess Victoria was declared of age upon her eighteenth birthday, May 24th, 1837. When, a month later, her uncle died, she became Queen of England. His death took place at two o'clock in the morning, and at five the Archbishop of Canter-

bury and Lord Conyngham arrived at Kensington Palace, and demanded to see the Princess Victoria. Her lady-in-waiting went to arouse her, but returned, saying that she was in such a sweet sleep that she did not like to disturb her.

"Madam," was the grave reply, "we are come upon business of State, and even the slumbers of THE QUEEN must give way to that."

Thus rebuked, the startled attendant awakened sleeping and unconscious Majesty, and Victoria, clad only in a night-dress, with a dressing-gown hastily thrown over it, and with slippers on her bare feet, came down at once.

"Your Majesty," began Lord Conyngham; but he was stopped by a simple gesture from the young girl, who held out her hand for him to kiss. He knelt and kissed it, and then told the news.

At eleven o'clock that day the first Council of the new reign was held. The death of the King was officially announced, and the two archbishops, the two royal dukes, the Prime Minister, and the Lord Chancellor were sent to inform the Queen. They returned to the council-room, the doors were flung open, and the new sovereign entered alone. Bowing to her assembled advisers, she took her seat, and read her speech clearly and audibly. The only sign of emotion she gave was when her two uncles did her homage, when she blushed deeply. Said the old Duke of Wellington, frankly: "If she had been my own daughter she could not have done better."

We have turned a moment aside from the strict subject narrative of this volume to mention some interesting features of this epoch, because the ascending of the throne by Victoria was perhaps of more importance to the kingdom than any other similar change had ever been. The accession of this young girl seems to have made possible a progress toward liberty which could scarcely have been attained under the rule of a man; but there is something higher than chivalry to be considered. Such reforms as were made were bound to come at some time, and in some way; efforts at change in the days of the Stuarts had brought about a civil war, and resulted in the overthrow of the dynasty; efforts at change in the days of Victoria have ended in the triumphs of emancipation from the long rule by mere right of birth. If a different sovereign had succeeded to the throne, would even a Gladstone have accomplished as much for the liberties of his fellow-countrymen?

The Conservatives had not much hope of a change in the ministry. Lord Melbourne was an adviser especially fitted to please a young queen, by the grace of his bearing and the suavity of his manners. Nor did the old Duke of Wellington credit the new sovereign with any better judgment in regard to men than was founded upon personal advantages. "The Tories will never have any chance with a young woman for a sovereign," he growled, "for I have no small talk, and Peel has no manners." Fortunately for the Conservatives, they were not obliged to wait until the Queen became old, or their leaders cultivated the missing graces. For the present, indeed, she adopted something of Lord Melbourne's own policy; when urged to undertake much needed reforms, the answer which this indolent and debonaire statesman most frequently gave was: "Can't you let it alone?" The young queen agreed to let him alone, for a while at least, in the office which he held; being so little skilled in state-craft that she did not know whether a change was needed or not. The country approved of her action; and the new Parliament was Liberal by a considerable majority.

The most important question which the new Parliament had to consider was another phase of the Canadian trouble, or rather, the same disturbances increased. There had always been bad feeling in Canada between the old French settlers and the English who had come after the victory of Wolfe; in addition to this, was the feeling that the Legislative Council, the members of which were nominated by the Crown, ought to be elective, like the Representative Assembly. From these germs grew a rebellion, which required the presence of troops to subdue it. The Government proposed to suspend the constitution of both Upper and Lower Canada, which were then separate governments, though both had been involved in the Rebellion; and to send out a Governor-General and High Commissioner, with power to remodel the constitution of both provinces if they saw fit. Mr. Roebuck, who had been in Parliament from the time of the Reform Bill until this session, was the paid agent of the Canadian governments, and he demanded the right to plead their cause before the bar of both houses. Mr. Gladstone protested against this in the House of Commons, but without avail. The agent was heard as he demanded. Mr. Hume's motion for the rejection of the Government bill was followed by a lively debate, in which the member for Newark took no small part. Reviewing

the entire series of events and the legislation and rulings which had led to the present complications, he pointed out the most glaring contradictions in the correspondence of Lord Gosford, the Colonial Secretary. The Chancellor of the Exchequer endeavored to answer this speech, but in the opinion of Sir Robert Peel at least, the attempt was a miserable failure. Notwithstanding this triumph of eloquence, the House went into committee by a considerable majority.

At this same session there was another agitation of the slavery question, on which Mr. Gladstone, as before, spoke in the interests of the slaveholders. But in this speech, which occupies thirty-three columns in Hansard, he takes a bolder stand than any that he has yet assumed, and reproaches these reformers, who are so eager for complete emancipation that they cannot await the time to which they once agreed, with the encouragement which they give to slave labor in consuming the cotton raised in the United States. The speech also disposed of many of the accusations which were made against the planters, and proved conclusively that the condition of the negro was constantly improving, and had been doing so since the passage of the Act of 1833. Although this speech was on the unpopular side of the question, it greatly enhanced his reputation as a parliamentary orator. This, indeed, rested upon foundations which had been laid before this. It was his eloquence which had attracted Sir Robert Peel's attention; and in 1835, the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos had written in his *Memoirs*, regarding a point at issue:

"If argument could have done it, they must have succeeded; for among the speakers on their side were Sir Edward Knatchbull, Sir James Graham, Sir Robert Inglis, Lord Stanley, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, Sir William Follett, Mr. Praed, and Mr. Goulburn."

So that barely two years after his entrance on the scenes at St. Stephens we find his name not the last that suggested itself when a close observer of political events counted over those supporters of the Ministry who were remarkable for their eloquence.

Mr. Gladstone had at this time already appeared before the public as an author. To him the *Edinburgh Review* paid this tribute, which came from Macaulay's pen:

"The author of this volume is a young man of unblemished character, and of distinguished parliamentary talents, the rising

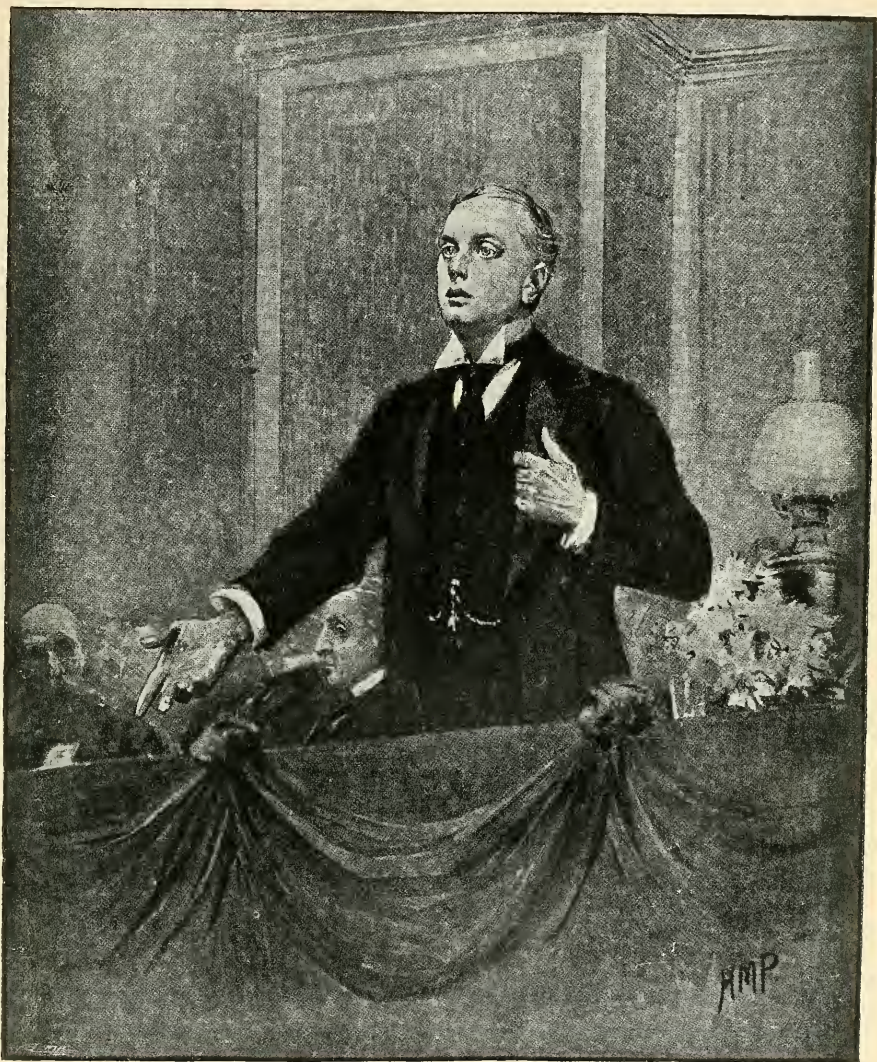


Queen Victoria in her Coronation Robes, 1837.

hope of those stern and unbending Tories who follow, reluctantly and mutinously, a leader whose experience and eloquence are indispensable to them, but whose cautious temper and moderate opinions they abhor. It would not be at all strange if Mr. Gladstone were one of the most unpopular men in England. But we believe that we do him no more than justice when we say that his abilities and demeanor have obtained for him the respect and good will of all parties. His first appearance in the character of an author is therefore an interesting event; and it is natural that the gentle wishes of the public should go with him to his trial. * * * * We dissent from his opinions, but we admire his talents; we respect his integrity and benevolence; and we hope that he will not suffer political avocation so entirely to engross him as to leave him no leisure for literature or philosophy."

The question of National Education was introduced into the House in June, 1839, and in the course of debate, this recently published work was referred to in such terms as brought the member for Newark upon his feet, in defense of the propositions which he had there enunciated, and which the opposition wished to apply to the bill under consideration. The fundamental principle of his argument had been, that the propagation of religious truth is one of the principal ends of government, as government. The Ministry wished to provide free schools in which the children of all classes, of Dissenters, Catholics, and Jews, as well as of the adherents of the Established Church, could be educated without hearing the religion of their parents exposed to insult, or directly contradicted by the teaching of the schools. This was a measure especially distasteful to the Tories, who have always been strenuous supporters of the Establishment; but theirs was the unpopular side of the question; and Mr. Gladstone, in these early years, seems to have had a positive genius for getting on that side.

In the debate on the war with China, the next year, Mr. Gladstone again made a speech which was favorably commented on at the time. The Ministry was supported in its motion, but the majority was so small as to give the Conservatives ground for hope. The Liberal Government had for some time past been steadily losing ground in the public opinion; and this was naturally reflected by the House of Commons, where there are usually enough independent or semi-independent members to deprive the Ministry of that unreasoning and unwavering support



LORD ROSEBERY—MR. GLADSTONE'S SUCCESSOR AS PREMIER

which would be theirs, if all their adherents at the time of taking office were enthusiasts for the party, right or wrong. The deficit was enormous; their financial policy had been a complete failure; they had alienated Dissenters by their leaning toward the Catholics, and Catholics by their efforts to gain the Dissenting interest. Toward the close of May, 1841, Sir Robert Peel moved a vote of no confidence; it was carried by a majority of one. Small as this majority was, it was sufficient to show how the case stood; there was but one thing for the ministry to do, unless they resigned immediately. Parliament was at once dissolved; the Government had appealed to the country.

The appeal was answered, but not in the way which the Liberals, hoping against hope, had looked for. The gain of the Tories was far greater than their most sanguine expectations had pictured, and the Ministry resigned immediately after the opening of the new session. Sir Robert Peel was at once made Prime Minister, and among the appointments which he made was that of Mr. Gladstone to be Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and Master of the Mint. He shortly after succeeded the Earl of Ripon as the President of the former body, so that the fact that he held the subordinate position is sometimes lost sight of.

In following the course of his parliamentary success, we have lost sight of his private life. In July, 1839, Mr. Gladstone married Miss Catherine Glynne, the daughter of Sir Stephen Richard Glynne, of Hawarden Castle, Flintshire. This lady has been the true wife, the sharer in his triumphs and the consoler in defeat; while her own peculiar tastes have led her to avoid, rather than seek, the social pre-eminence which the wife of such a man might have won, she has not shrunk from the glare of publicity when it was necessary to her husband's success. In the latter part of 1886, wishing to exonerate him from the charge which his enemies were making, that he had only of late years shown any interest in Ireland and the troubles of the Irish, implying that his alliance with Mr. Parnell was a mere trick of the office-seeker, she sent for Mr. Gill, a Nationalist, and one of the staff of United Ireland, that her testimony might be heard in his behalf. One of the statements which she then made shows his feeling with regard to the office which had at this time been allotted to him by his chief:

“From the very outset of his political career, Mr. Gladstone's most ardent wish, his strongest ambition, has been to redress the



Marriage of Queen Victoria.

grievances of Ireland, and undertake the settlement of the Irish difficulty upon drastic lines. I remember very well the day upon which he received his first cabinet appointment under Sir Robert Peel. It was the same day that my niece, Lady Frederick Cavendish, was born. Coming home, he threw himself into a chair, looking quite depressed. 'What did you get?' I asked. 'The Board of Trade,' he said. I understood his disappointment. He had hoped to get the Irish Secretaryship, though it was looked on then as a far less important post."

But Mr. Gladstone, hampered by Tory traditions, and bound to the Conservatives as he was by accepting office under their Government, was hardly the man to have dealt with the Irish question at that time; and a failure then might have made men look with less confidence to him in the future, when he had cast off those shackles for the freedom to be found among the more progressive Liberals.

In the beginning of the year 1840 occurred the marriage of the Queen. She had chosen as a husband, Prince Albert, the second son of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and her mother's nephew. Unknown to himself and his future wife, Prince Albert had been carefully educated to fill this very position; but the match-making was so skillfully done that the two young people came together quite naturally, with genuine attachment on both sides. The preceptor of the Prince was Leopold I. of Belgium, who, as husband of the Princess Charlotte, had carefully prepared himself for the very duties which were now to devolve upon his brother's son, as husband of his sister's daughter. The early death of the Princess Charlotte had sent him back to Germany, there to be once more simply a younger brother, until elected to the throne of Belgium; and there is something pathetic in the thought of Victoria and Albert taking up the thread of life where Charlotte and Leopold had dropped it. Prince Albert brought to his difficult position a sincere wish to be the Queen's best counselor for the good of her people; and although he was not at first popular, and it was long before he was regarded with much affection by the people, he fulfilled this duty nobly.

The session of Parliament which followed Sir Robert Peel's appointment was destined to be a very short one; and there was nothing of importance to mark it in our history. There was much distress in the country, and the question how it was to be

relieved was a serious one. Nor were the people patient under the existing evils; matters were too far gone for that; tumult succeeded tumult; even the Queen was hooted when she appeared at a London theater. The Ministry attempted to remedy this by a modification of the Corn Laws, and a bill for that purpose was brought up at the next session.

The Corn Laws which were in force at this time had been passed the year that the battle of Waterloo was fought. It was hurried through Parliament, despite the most emphatic protests from the manufacturing and commercial classes. There were riots in London, there were riots elsewhere; for the duty was prohibitive unless home-grown wheat reached the price of eighty shillings a quarter, and it was far below that price. Time and space do not allow the discussion of the principle involved, whether it is wise to tax one class of the community for the benefit of another, or to benefit one class at the expense of all others. Certain it is, that the Corn Laws had long been looked upon by many Englishmen as the chief cause of the distress which had so long existed; various modifications of them had been made at different times; and Sir Robert Peel now proposed a plan, which was a modification of one which had been broached some time ago, and partly adopted. This was a sliding scale by which the duty was highest when wheat was cheapest, and gradually diminishing with the rise in price, until, in case of a famine, grain would be admitted free of duty. The trouble with the sliding scale afterward proved to be that other countries, from which a supply must be drawn in case of a short crop, were not always ready to supply the deficiency, no provision being made for a market which did not exist regularly.

The people of Manchester had naturally been the most determined advocates of free trade in grain, and no sooner was it represented in Parliament than its voice was heard, demanding the abolition of the Corn Laws. But the experience of the late Liberal Ministry had shown that the revenue was insufficient, even with taxes as they were; to reduce the income would be an act of folly. Under these circumstances the Conservatives came into office, expressly to uphold the Corn Laws.

Great excitement prevailed throughout the country when this sliding scale was introduced. Its wisdom was questioned by Lord John Russell, the leader of the Opposition, in one of the ablest speeches which had been made upon the subject. Mr. Gladstone

answered him, in an address of at least equal ability; and the Government was supported by a considerable majority. This did not evidence the feelings of the people, however; for about this time the Premier, who had brought this measure forward, had the honor of being the chief attraction at a riot in Northampton, where he was burned in effigy. And other towns were not far behind Northampton.

The Conservatives, high tariff men as they were, became speedily converted to the principles of free trade by that stern teacher, Necessity. The session of 1842 dealt mainly with the question of import duty, and a complete revision of the tariff was the fruit of their labors. This was no light task to Mr. Gladstone, in the position which he now held; for the record shows that he was on his feet one hundred and twenty-nine times during this session; and generally spoke in connection with the provisions of the Tariff Bill.

Almost immediately upon the opening of the session of 1843, Mr. Gladstone was speaking on the question of Free Trade, and advocating the abolition of the Corn Laws. This, he admitted, could not be done at once, though he argued that the success which had followed the reduction of duties in the previous year had paved the way for it. In a second speech on the same subject, which "bristled with facts," he indeed deprecated the immediate re-opening of the question. A month later, the Opposition again broached the subject, but the Ministers were again sustained. But in these various debates, the successive divisions showed a steady diminution in the majorities of the Government which had established the tariff in force.

In the session of 1844, appears the first important measure in which Mr. Gladstone was prime mover. Hitherto he had been in such subordinate positions that he could only figure as a supporter of others. It is true that in the previous session, acting as President of the Board of Trade, he had brought forward a bill providing for the export of machinery free of duty; but this was merely to repeal a law which had never been practicable, and which had, therefore, from the time of its passage, been a dead letter on the statute book. The present bill, which, like the other, was suggested by the duties of his special office, was designed for the regulation of the railways, with special provisions regarding passenger trains. This was the Act which first established what is known as the "Parliamentary Train." It required every

railway to start at least one train each day from each end of the line, which was to stop at every station, traveling at a rate of not less than twelve miles per hour. On this train, passengers, each with fifty pounds of luggage, were to be carried at a charge for each not exceeding one penny per mile. Provision was made for the reduction of this rate in the case of children. It is a regulation for which the English traveling public, especially the poorer classes, have reason to be extremely grateful, and it is in force without material amendment to-day.

The session of 1845 brought a new perplexity to the young statesman. Peel brought forward a measure which, in Mr. Gladstone's opinion, was inconsistent with the views which had been expressed in the volume, "On the relations of Church and State," to which reference has already been made. In such a case, there were two courses open to the subordinate: either to allow the measure to pass without protest, preserving a discreet silence as to his own opinions, or to resign his office, that he may be free to oppose a measure which he does not approve. This was the alternative which presented itself to Mr. Gladstone. While the first course does not appear to possess that straightforwardness which should distinguish any man in an office of trust, it has not always seemed inconsistent with honor, by those who have been called upon to decide the question for themselves; the ministers of the Crown have sometimes differed about such minor points of policy, but considered that their agreement upon so many more subjects entitled them still to retain office.

Mr. Gladstone, however, was in a somewhat unusual position; and one in which he might easily have thought himself excusable for retaining his post in the Government. Entering upon public life as an uncompromising Tory, the admirer of Canning, the protege of that Duke of Newcastle who had so vehemently opposed the Whig measures of Reform, he had come to find that many of the views which he at first held would not endure the test of mature consideration. The Tory party had been advancing since the days of George IV. and his brother; and the brilliant young statesman, who had been characterized as the rising hope of the most intolerant of the party, had long since outgrown that designation, and was now in the van of change, of progress. The Conservatives were losing their hold upon him, though they did not know it, and he would perhaps have been the first to deny such a charge. But leaving out of con-

sideration that great change which resulted in his enrolment in the ranks of the Liberals, we find a minor one in his opinions of the relations of Church and State. He no longer held the views which he had publicly avowed seven years before; he had come to acknowledge the justice of Macaulay's strictures upon his arguments; but to announce this change, at this juncture, would have the appearance of seeking to modify his opinions by his chief's, in order to retain his office. He accordingly placed his resignation in the hands of the Prime Minister, by whom it was accepted. Old politicians generally looked upon this action as Quixotic; it would have been so regarded by some if there had not been the change of opinion which might have excused it in more scrupulous minds; but there was not one who did not secretly respect the man who was capable of making such a sacrifice for the sake of a conscientiousness few could understand.

The question which Mr. Gladstone was willing to support as a private member of the House in 1845, though his condemnation of its principle in 1838 drove him from office, was the increase in the endowment of Maynooth College. This institution, located at a village of the same name in County Kildare, was founded by the British Government in 1795, when the destruction of the French schools by the Revolutionists had deprived the Catholic Irish of the privileges of education for their priesthood. It had been supported by annual grants, the continuance of which was assured by the act of Union of 1800; but these grants had for many years been insufficient for the purpose. The buildings had fallen into ruin, and there was no money to repair them; the apparatus and library needed renewing; the yearly income was not sufficient to pay the professors even the scantiest stipend. Under the circumstances, the Government could do no less than make its gift large enough to serve the purpose which it intended, or to withdraw it altogether. The increase was bitterly opposed by a considerable party in Parliament, but the measure was carried by no small majority.

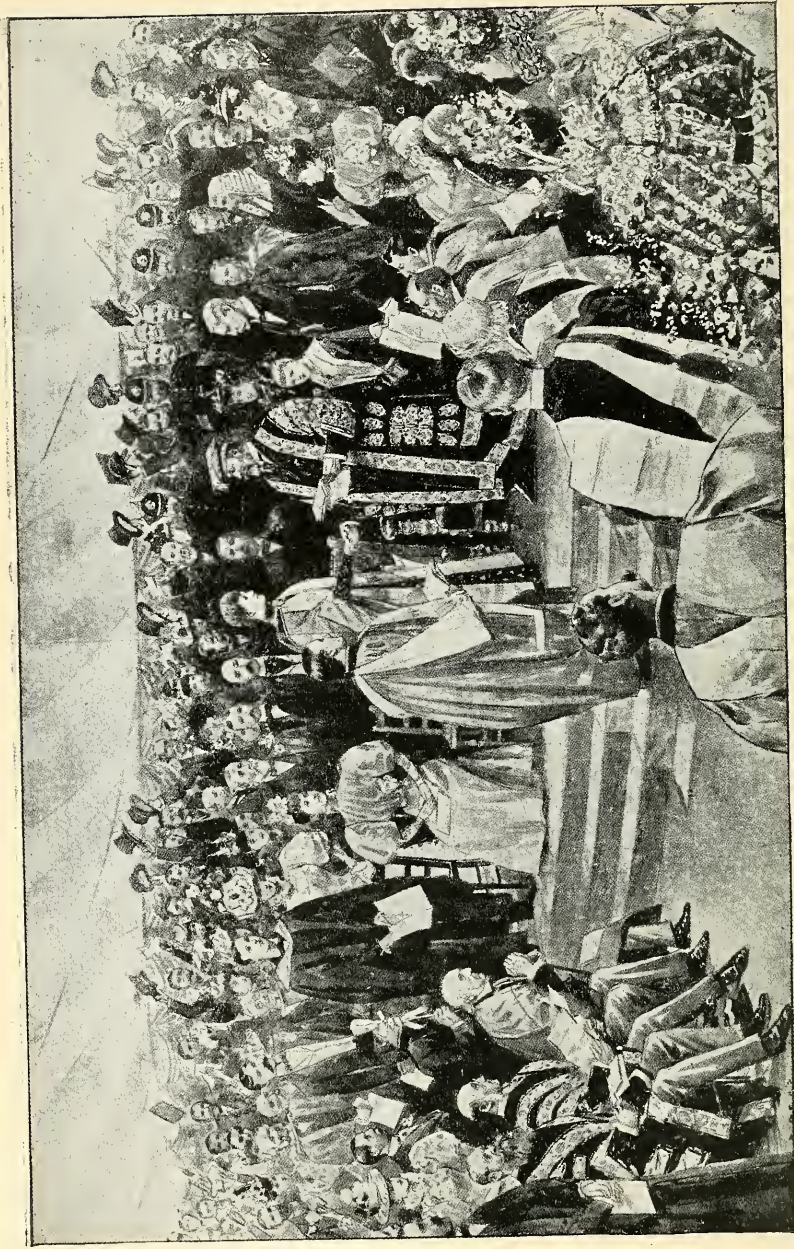
The retiring minister had been highly complimented by Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell, the leader of the Opposition, on the occasion when his resignation was announced in the House of Commons. The change in the Ministry was of course no victory for their opponents, for Mr. Gladstone continued to give his unqualified support to the Conservatives. The bill for the establishment in Ireland of what a rabid Church of England

man dubbed "godless colleges," a name which was speedily caught up by O'Connell and his Catholic followers, was warmly supported by him; and to that measure, as well as to the one for the increase of the Maynooth endowment, he lent all the aid of his now renowned eloquence.

Peel had come into power for the support of the Corn Laws; it had been necessary to modify them at once, if they were to be retained at all; but the experience of five years under the form which they had assumed then had not been favorable to their perpetuation. Dec. 4th, 1845, the *Times* announced that the speech from the Throne would recommend the abolition of these regulations; the statement was indignantly denied by the other journals, but was admitted by them to be true after several days had passed; and the event confirmed it. Many of Peel's colleagues were as much opposed to the repeal of these laws as they had ever been; and two of them, when at a meeting of the Cabinet the First Lord of the Treasury stated what the course of the Government must be, declined to support that course. The difficulties by which he was surrounded seemed to be irremediable; and on the 5th of December he tendered his resignation to the Queen.

Lord John Russell had been active in promoting a general distrust of the wisdom of the Corn Laws, though his action in this respect was stigmatized as a mere bid for office. Whatever it was, it secured for him the appointment to the coveted post, for the Queen immediately sent for him. Peel had signified his desire to co-operate with a Liberal Government for the repeal of the obnoxious laws, and this was a most welcome assurance to Lord John. But a new obstacle arose: both Lord Palmerston and Lord Grey ought to be included in such a Ministry; indeed, it could not well stand without them; Lord Palmerston would not accept anything but the Foreign Office, and if Lord Palmerston was made Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Grey would have nothing to do with it. The reason for this perversity was, that Lord Palmerston had a high opinion of his ability in conducting business with other countries; Lord Grey, upon the other hand, dreaded his "talent of keeping perpetually open all vital questions and dangerous controversies."

Confronted by this difficulty, the Liberal leader decided that it would be impossible to form a cabinet which could stand, and so informed the Queen, who at once sent for the late Premier



THE PRINCESS OF WALES RECEIVING THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF MUSIC

and reinstated him in office. Of the two ministers who had resigned, and thus compelled Sir Robert Peel to follow their example, the Duke of Buccleugh was persuaded to remain in the ministry; Lord Stanley retired, and his post of Colonial Secretary was filled by Mr. Gladstone.

The member for Newark had been elected because he was the protege of the duke—the Duke of Newcastle's nominee, notwithstanding his ingenious evasion on the occasion of his first election. But this nobleman was a warm advocate of the principle of Protection; as an upholder of Free Trade Mr. Gladstone could never have gained his support. Accordingly, on the 5th of January, 1846, he issued an address to his constituents informing them of the necessity for his retirement as their representative, since he no longer held the principles on which he had been elected. Newark was too thoroughly in favor of Protection, and perhaps too much under the influence of the duke, to retain as her member the young man who had won such speedy recognition; and Mr. Gladstone was left without a seat in the House of Commons during the session in which the Corn Laws were repealed.

Nor had he been simply the follower of others in regard to the measure to which he thus sacrificed his seat in the House; it was no secret that he was the most advanced in opinion of all the members of the Cabinet, in his desire for Free Trade. In the preceding year, he had published a pamphlet entitled, "Remarks Upon Recent Commercial Legislation," which would have indicated this most clearly, had nothing else been said by him. But he has been justly regarded as one of the pioneers of the movement—perhaps the earliest.

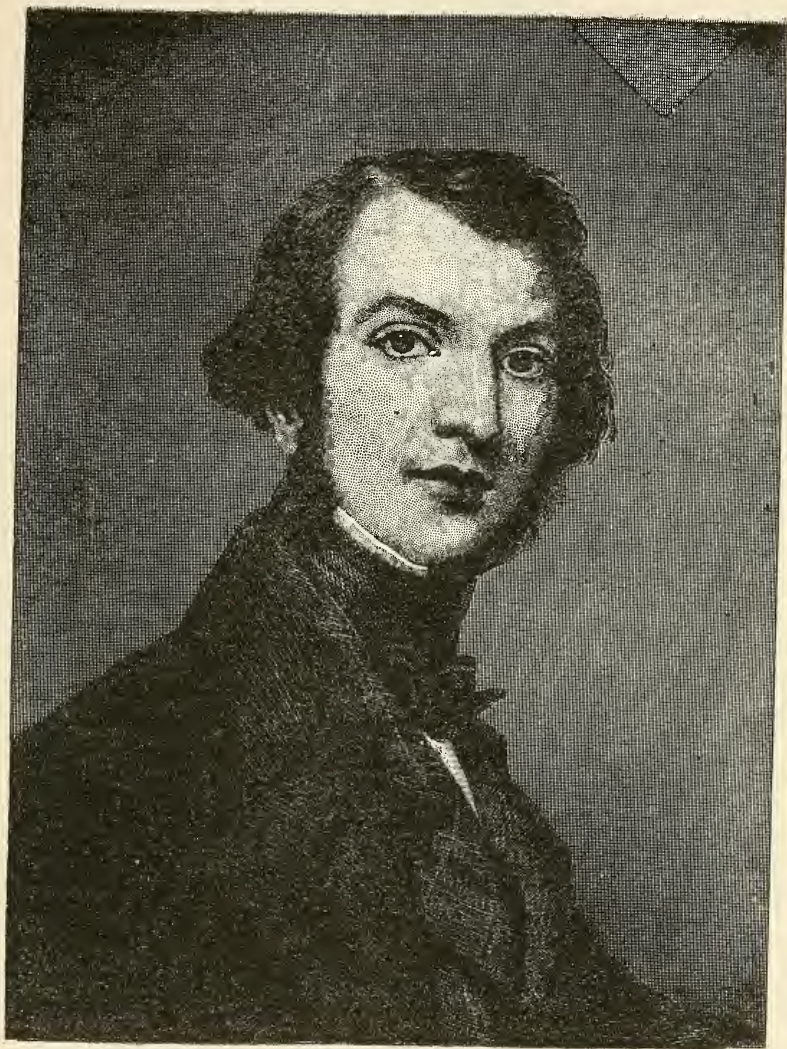
Though the subject of this biography was not entitled to speak upon the momentous subject for which he had thus paved the way, a brief paragraph respecting the Ministry which carried it through will not be out of place. The motion was of course made by the Premier, and supported by him in a powerful speech. "He played upon the House of Commons as on an old fiddle," said Disraeli, who heard him from the Opposition benches. But the marvelously eloquent speech once ended, he was exposed to such a torrent of personal abuse as has seldom fallen to the lot of any one statesman to endure. Calmly he acknowledged that he had opposed the repeal, as he had opposed other measures which his Government had carried through; notably, Catholic

Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform; but he denied that these changes of opinion were sudden, or produced by anything but an intense desire to do what was best for the nation. The measure was carried by a triumphant majority; but the almost simultaneous defeat of the Ministry upon the question of the suppression of outrages in Ireland caused a change in the make-up of the Government.

Sir Robert Peel having tendered his resignation, Lord John Russell was again entrusted with the task of forming a Ministry, and this time was more successful than he had been in the previous year. Sir Robert Peel was never again called to the high office in which he had accomplished so many notable things.

A general election took place in the fall of 1847, and Mr. Gladstone stood for the University of Oxford. Sir R. H. Inglis, who had sat for the University in the previous session, had a safe seat, so that the contest lay between Mr. Gladstone and a Tory of the most pronounced type. The contest was one of the bitterest that had ever been waged in the town, and men came for many miles to exercise their right of suffrage at the University. The Convocation-house, where the voting took place, was so densely crowded that one gentleman was carried out fainting. The total number of votes polled was greater than at any preceding election, and Mr. Gladstone was returned by a decisive majority.

But while Oxford had thus recognized the political genius of one of her own sons, the City of London was exercising a similar right, and electing a man whose name is perhaps more widely known in connection with money than that of any other family. The return of Baron Rothschild was the peculiar feature of this election of 1847. Up to this time, various changes had been made in the laws relating to Jews, but the member of Parliament still swore to perform his duty "on the true faith of a Christian." Nor was he the only elected officer who so vowed; the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and even the Councilmen of the City of London, were obliged to make use of the same phrase; and of course the Jew was excluded from all these offices. To remedy this, Lord John Russell brought forward a resolution immediately after the opening of Parliament, affirming that Jews were eligible to all offices and functions to which Roman Catholics were admitted. The reason for this limitation is obvious when we recollect that the State and Church are closely connected in the



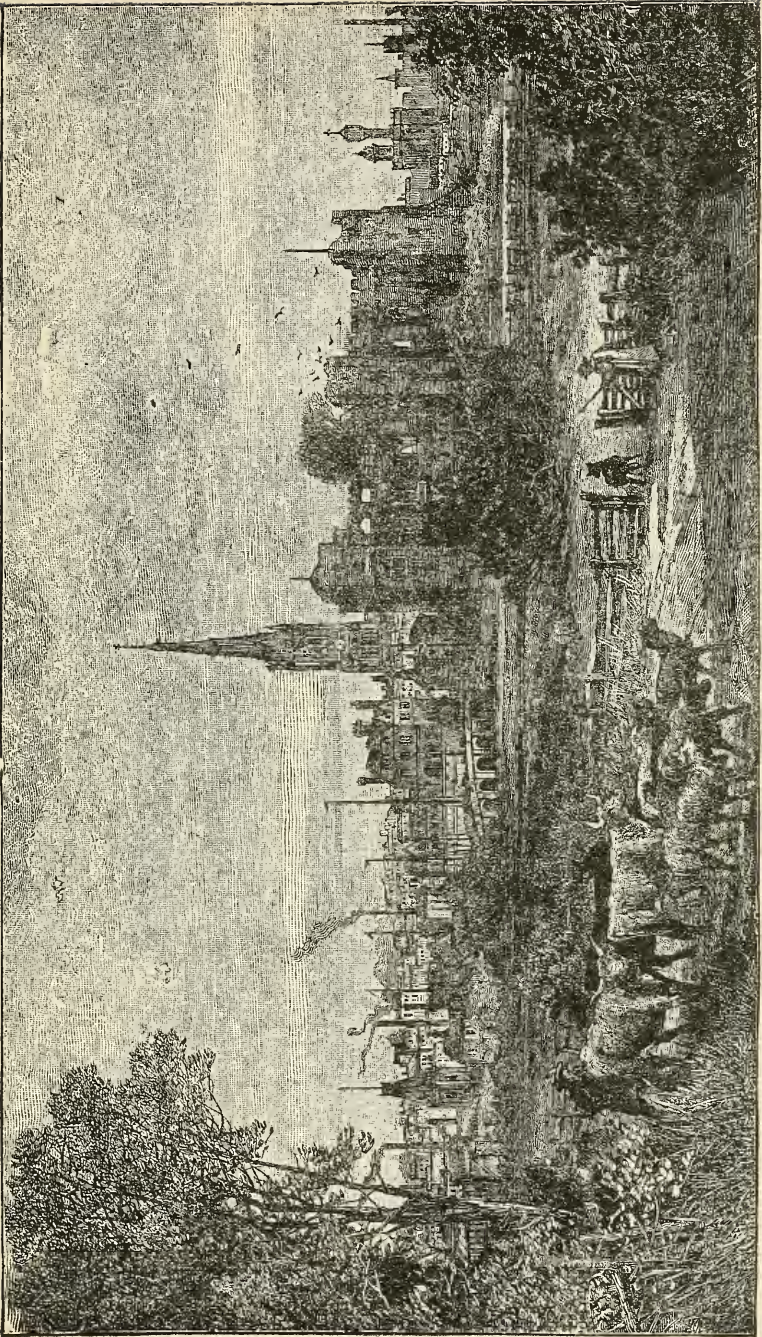
Mr. Gladstone in 1846.

mother country ; and it is only to be expected that Non-conformists, whatever be their creed, should be rigidly excluded from those offices which, although civil, may be called upon for some decision or action in connection with the Church.

The resolution which Lord John proposed was bitterly opposed by Sir Robert Inglis, the same who had named the Queen's Colleges in Ireland "godless colleges," and who seems to have been, at all times and under all circumstances, a supporter of the Establishment. His colleague, Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, upheld the Liberal opinions of the Prime Minister, and made one of his powerful speeches in favor of admitting the Jew to Parliament. He admitted that he had opposed the previous bills, which had given privileges to this class ; but since they had passed, he saw no reason why this should be denied. The constituencies were mixed, and the representation ought to be so ; if the Jew were permitted a voice in the elections, he ought to have a voice in Parliament. It had been urged that this tended to un-Christianize Parliament ; but so long as the constituencies were mainly Christian, he replied, the House of Commons would be so.

The logic of the speech was unanswerable, but, as was remarked at the time, had it been made before instead of after the election, the speaker would not have been returned by the University of Oxford.

The country had long been in a state that was far from tranquil. The successive failures of the crops for several seasons had produced a terrible condition among the poor ; we are only forgetful of the state of England at this period because the people of Ireland were so much more to be pitied ; but in ordinary times, when there was no darker background against which to place it, the distress in England in 1847-8 would be remembered with dread, even in other countries. As before, the situation in France was reflected in England ; after eighteen years of rule, the Orleans dynasty, which had displaced the strictly legitimate successor of Louis XVI., was in turn displaced by the Second Republic, which had been established with a provisional government. The agitators demanded a Charter for the English people ; the latter phrase meaning, as a historian of our own time had pointed out, not the whole people, for the heretofore ruling classes were ignored ; but the wage-earners. It was to be a free country for the lower classes, but something else for the higher



Newark, Gladstone's First Borough.

classes. They were from this demand termed "Chartists." There were, as is generally the case in any extensive movement, men who were really law-abiding citizens, but who saw the existing evils, and hoped to reform them. There were also many who longed for a collision with the authorities; enthusiasts, perhaps, but still earnest in their wish to achieve better things for themselves and their fellows. Excitement ran to a high pitch in London when it was learned that a monster procession of the Chartists was to be formed and to march to the doors of the two houses of Parliament, where they would demand the rights of



Duke of Wellington in 1850.

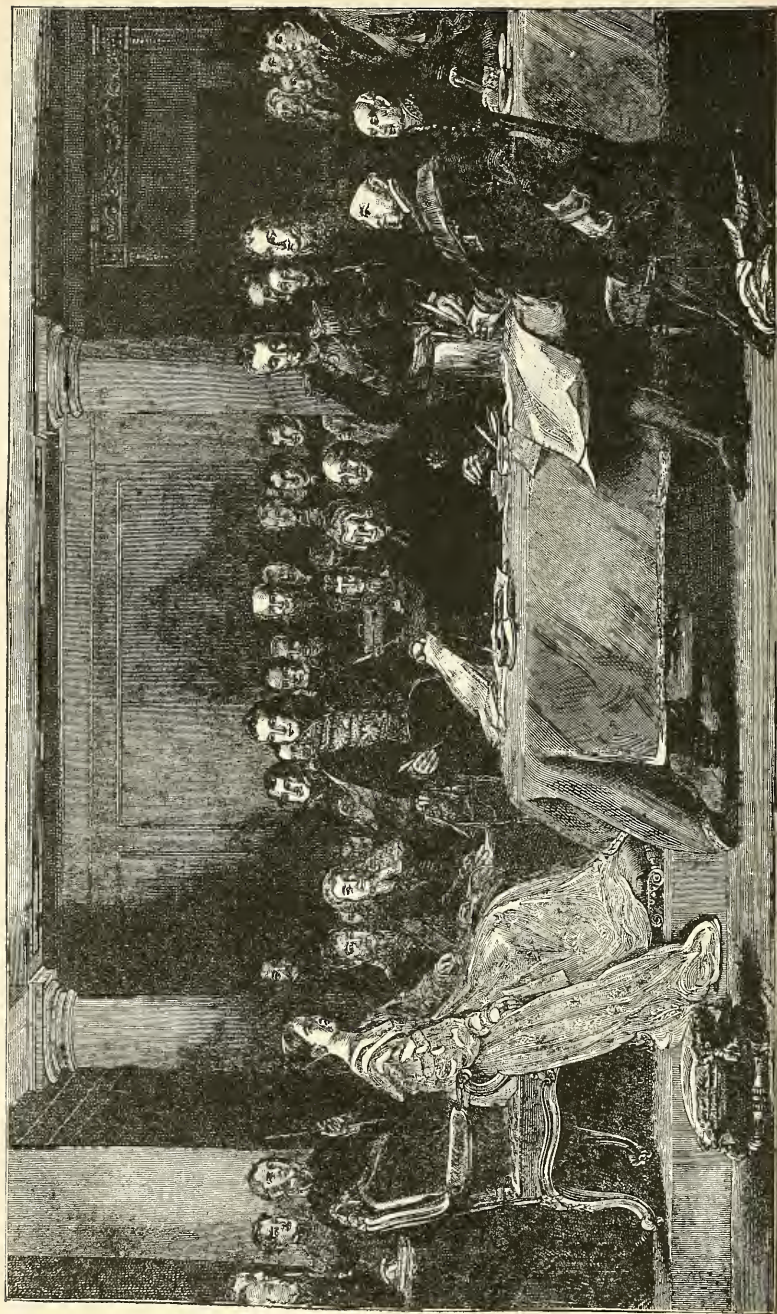
the English people. A repetition of the scenes of the French Revolution was seriously feared, for the Chartists made no secret of the fact that a republican form of government was one of their demands.

The Duke of Wellington took charge of the preparations and arrangements for defying any outbreak against the public peace. He acted with extreme caution, so that though there were soldiers everywhere, they were so concealed as not to add to the

alarm, or allow the Chartists any advantage from knowing their position beforehand. Nearly two hundred thousand Londoners, in addition to the regular force of military and police, enrolled themselves as special constables. Among the names of those who were sworn in for this duty, we find Prince Louis Napoleon, soon to be elected President of the French Republic; the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Derby, and Mr. Gladstone.

The Chartist meeting was held, as appointed; though there were not nearly so many present as had been predicted. Their leaders found it would not be prudent to attempt the procession, and forbade it. The petition, however, was duly appointed, having, as was declared by Mr. O'Connor, fully five million seven hundred thousand signatures. It was duly referred to a committee, who set to work to examine the signatures, with the assistance of an army of clerks. As a result of their labors, it appeared that the number of signatures was not more than one-third of what had been stated; but of course the desires of nearly two millions of the Queen's subjects deserved to be treated with respect. An analysis of the nature of the signatures, however, reassured the frightened people. Eight per cent. of the names were those of women; whole sheets were signed by the same hand; many signatures were repeated again and again; but what made the whole thing ridiculous was the fact that the names of the Queen, the Prince Consort, the stern old Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, and others who would be equally likely to sign a petition for the institution of a republican form of government in England, appeared side by side with the names of characters in the popular novels of the day and the most curious nicknames imaginable. These were repeated again and again. The Chartist leaders had not tried to deceive by this childish list of names; they had simply left the sheets where any one who desired might sign, and the wags had had some fun out of it. As the story got abroad, the English people, including those classes who were not recognized by the Chartists as having any rights, had more fun out of it; and the great Chartist revolution became a byword and laughing-stock forever.

It is well for a country when a grave danger thus ends in laughter, but it must be remembered that the situation in England was not by any means what it had been in France during the last years of Louis XVI.'s reign, when the accumulated evils of centuries were revenged. The great danger in England was



Queen Victoria's First Council.

in Reform being carried forward at too great strides. That danger, the Conservative party may be said to have averted. But the time was coming when a member of that party could leave it for the Liberal, as a direct and legitimate result of the principles which had guided him in the former organization, but which, carried a little further, landed him among his late opponents. The transition had already begun, with his conversion to Free Trade, his advocacy of the extension of privileges to the Jews, his change of opinion with regard to the relations of Church and State. We shall see how gradually it became patent to Mr. Gladstone's own mind that he was no longer a member of that party in whose opinions his earliest youth had been trained.

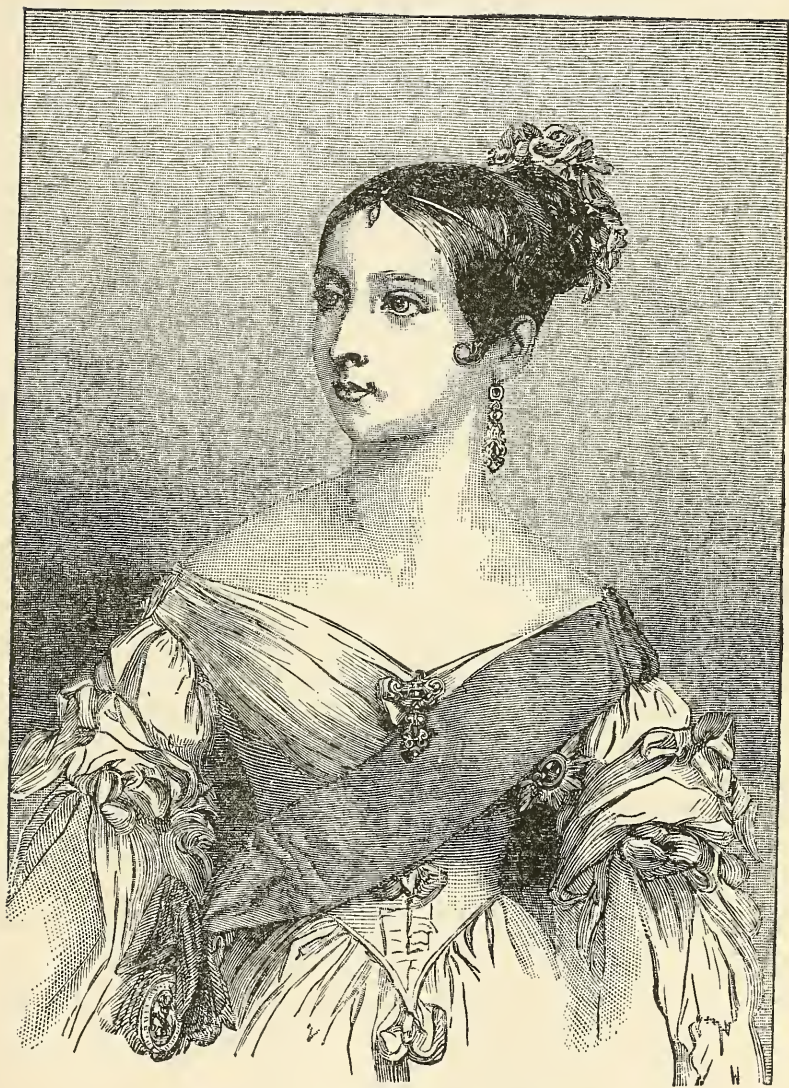
CHAPTER IV.

GLADSTONE VS. DISRAELI.

Repeal of the Corn Laws—Disraeli in Parliament—His Extravagant Rhetoric—Pithy Sayings and Merciless Satire—Free Traders and Protectionists—Division Among the Tories—Gladstone's Speech on the Navigation Laws—His Growing Liberalism—The Condition of Canada—Colonial Governments—Remonstrance of France and Russia—Some Account of Lord Palmerston—The Celebrated John Bright—Mr. Gladstone Defends His Action—Ecclesiastical Titles Bill—Mr. Disraeli in the Cabinet—Gladstone's Eulogy on the Duke of Wellington—Overthrow of the Ministry.

WE have reserved until now all mention of a man who had come into prominence in connection with the debate on the Repeal of the Corn Laws, because it was at the time of which we are now writing that he first came into noticeable contact with Mr. Gladstone. The rivalry which for many years existed between the two was not yet fairly begun; its commencement, as we shall find, was delayed some years from the year 1848; but the march of events will leave us little space for retrospection when the time shall come for recording the incipency of the conflict between Gladstone and Disraeli.

The great leader of the Liberal party began life as a Tory; the late chief of the Tory party for so many years began life as an advanced Liberal, a Radical. Disraeli's sentiments, however, at the outset of his career, seem not to have been so firmly fixed, by education and other circumstances, as Gladstone's were; as a well-known critic of the men of our own times puts it, he was rather in search of opinions than in possession of them. However this may have been, it was as a Liberal candidate that he offered himself to the electors of Wycombe in the same year that Gladstone was returned from Newark; he was recommended by such apostles of Radicalism as O'Connell and Hume; but he was defeated. Nothing daunted by this lack of success, he presented himself again and again; but it was not until the fourth time that, owing to the influence of Mr. Wyndham Lewis, who foresaw something of the genius for government which the



Queen Victoria at Her Accession to the Throne.

young man was to develop, he was at last entitled to speak in the House of Commons. It was the first Parliament after the accession of Queen Victoria in which he gained the long-coveted seat.

The maiden speech of Gladstone, as we have already seen, was almost forced upon him, by the direct attacks which were made upon his father and his agents. It was marked by modesty, by dignity, and by earnestness. He was hardly known at the time; his associates saw in him only a youth whom influence had sent to



Disraeli in 1830.

occupy a seat, the son of a man prominent in commercial circles, and well thought of for his efforts to secure local improvements; he was an essentially middle-class man, and there was no indication that he was possessed of more than mediocre powers. But the son of the author of so many excellent essays was of a different stamp; he was already well known by the name which he had won for himself in literature; "Vivian Grey" had been

published nine years before, and had been followed by other works, but still Disraeli was looked upon with some contempt; nor were his writings at that day met with the respect which they have since then commanded. He was regarded as an eccentric adventurer, who might have been dangerous if his affectations had not been so ridiculous. When, therefore, he rose to his feet for the first time in the House of Commons, the members of that august body prepared themselves for enjoyment. He was dressed "in a bottle-green frock-coat and a waistcoat of white, of the Dick Swiveller pattern, the front of which exhibited a network of glittering chains; large fancy-pattern pantaloons, and a black tie above which no shirt-collar was visible, completed the outward man. A countenance lividly pale, set out by a pair of intensely black eyes, and a broad but not very high forehead, overhung by clustering ringlets of coal-black hair, which, combed away from the right temple, fell in bunches of small well-oiled ringlets over the left cheek." His style was always extravagant, his rhetoric constantly degenerated into vulgarity; an American critic has said of him that he was essentially barbaric in his actions and feelings; at this date, then, when we naturally expect to find all the faults of the parliamentarian most strongly marked, because contact with others has not toned them down to that smooth level which is the meeting-place of great genius and mediocrity, he did not disappoint the House. His manner was intensely theatric, his gestures wild and extravagant. There was nothing in the speech itself which would, if another had delivered it, have excited the risibilities of the House; but the reputation, the appearance, the manner of the speaker, all combined against him; there was no serious attention paid to what he said; he was constantly interrupted by laughter and derision; and at last he sat down with that threat which has become historic, as the expression of a self-confidence which is too seldom justified: "I have begun, several times, many things, and I have often succeeded at last; ay, sir, and though I sit down now, the time will come when you will hear me."

Recorded as it is in the newspapers of the time, and in that compilation of speeches delivered in Parliament which is regarded as the highest authority, it cannot be said that this prediction was manufactured by some admirer long after it had been fulfilled. It was the indomitable resolution of the man asserting itself; a perseverance which had seated him in Parliament

after three successive and decisive defeats, and which accomplished the fulfillment of what had been spoken. The time did come when the House listened to him.

Though Mr. Disraeli's first candidature had been as a Liberal, he had stood at the election of 1837 as a Conservative; and by 1846 he had become identified with the extreme wing of that party. The action of Sir Robert Peel and his illustrious young colleague in espousing the cause of Free Trade was not followed by all the members of the party; it rather marked a division among

the Conservatives; and it was this division of strength which brought about the fall of the Ministry, immediately after the success which was achieved by the Repeal Act. Disraeli had persisted in his efforts to gain the ear of the House and had at last succeeded. He was second only to Lord George Bentinck in the leadership of the men who still clung to Protection; and his speeches in the House, during the debate on that famous measure which had made the name of Peel best known, were received with an attention which was in itself an



Lord Odo Russell.

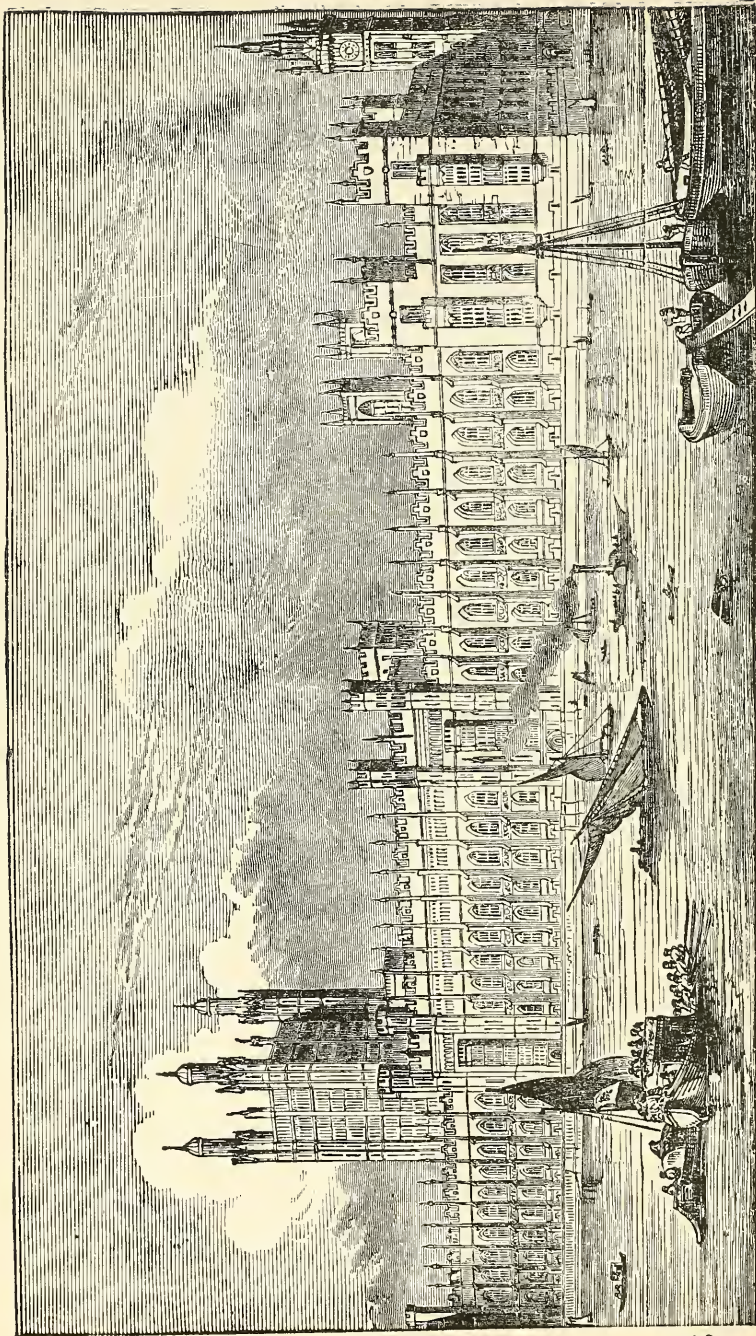
eloquent commentary on the progress which the man had made. Terse epigrams and merciless satire marked his speeches throughout—words which could be caught up and repeated, and again applied to the men and measures which he thus characterized. This indeed is the main power which Disraeli's speeches possessed—the coining of phrases which were readily remembered, as the expression, "Sublime mediocrity," which he then applied, not without some justice, to the Prime Minister.

Though the Free Traders carried the day against the Protectionists, it was a long time before the two wings of the party

would re-unite upon any question of public policy long enough to overthrow the Liberal Ministry. The more moderate Conservatives still held to Peel as their leader, while the extreme Tories looked to Bentinck and Disraeli. There was a time coming, and that not far off, when the former party would find themselves without their leader; but that came as a surprise to friend and foe; and when it did come, there was at least one of his adherents, and that one the man whose life we are now following, who did not unite with the Protectionists, but who, in the increased political independence thus gained, separated himself still more widely from the Tory party.

This division of the Tories prevented the return of the party to power at this juncture, when the Conservatives were naturally the power to which the people looked in times of agitation from without; and the Whig Government was steadily growing unpopular. The one thing in which the Russell Ministry had failed, was in reducing the deficit which then existed. This amounted to more than two millions of pounds, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced, that, in his judgment, the Income Tax, which would expire that year, would have to be renewed for five years longer, and even increased. This had been imposed while Peel was in office, and the ex-premier now defended, from the Opposition benches, the course proposed by the Ministry. Disraeli also was in opposition, not only to the Ministry, but to the leaders of the Conservatives; representing, as the extreme Tories did, the landed interest, he was the natural opponent of a measure which bore most heavily upon the wealthy men of leisure. His speech was a most characteristic one, sparkling with epigram. The blue-book of the Import Duties Committee he dubbed "the greatest work of the imagination which the nineteenth century has produced;" and having thus characterized the authority upon which many of the statements of the Ministry and their friends in opposition were based, he declared himself a "Free Trader, but not a free-booter of the Manchester school," and argued at length to show that Peel's policy had not been the success which he had just claimed it was.

The House had listened with lively interest to this speech, as it always had done to Disraeli since he had convinced them that he was not to be laughed down. He was answered by Gladstone, in a speech which was no less characteristic of him than the answer to Peel had been of the Tory. The Conservative took but



The Houses of Parliament.

little note of the personalities of the speech, which had been the most brilliant part of it. He answered them by dismissing them as unworthy serious consideration, in the discussion of a measure affecting the welfare of the nation. Bringing from his marvellous memory fact after fact to support the cause of his chief, he clinched each argument with statistics which made it unanswerable; and with a wealth of language which, in the mouth of any other man, would but have seemed the weakness of redundancy, he made every word tell against the arguments which he was opposing. Finally, with a dignified appeal to the now thoroughly serious House, he sat down. The measure was carried.

This session was also marked by the delivery of an important speech on the Navigation Laws by Mr. Gladstone, in which he opposed the sweeping changes advocated by the Government; the question was so delayed, however, that the final consideration had to be postponed until the next session of Parliament. But leaving out of consideration the minor speeches upon such subjects of transitory importance as the cession of Vancouver's Island to the Hudson Bay Company and the Sugar Duties Bill, the most noteworthy speech of the session which fell from his lips was that upon the measure designed to legalize diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

Since the time when Henry VIII. had openly defied the power of the Pope and announced himself as the Head of the English Church, the English Government had held no formal relations with the Court of Rome. Whatever communications might be absolutely necessary were made in an underhand and round-about manner which was hardly consistent with the dignity of either court. The bill which was now brought forward was most severely condemned by many statesmen of the day as likely to offend both parties by the moderation of its terms; the Catholics by the concessions which were demanded from the apostolic see, and the Protestants by the concessions which were made to the same power. Mr. Gladstone supported the bill, though he admitted that there were several reasons why it was painful for him to do so. The question had been brought to their consideration, he said, at an unfortunate time; for such was the state of affairs in Italy that it might prove to have been unnecessary to legislate upon this question. But the enactment of the law establishing the Irish Colleges had made it absolutely necessary to conduct negotiations with the Pope. As long as the actual

title of the sovereign of England was assailed by the Pope, it was right and proper that all communication with the Vatican should be forbidden; but for more than a century the Papal authority had ceased to stand in this inimical relation; and there was no real reason why diplomatic channels of communication should not be reopened; and he urged upon the House the necessity of promoting the peace of Ireland by every possible means, and showed that to preserve this it was necessary to have free communication with the power so highly regarded by the Irish as a religious authority.

We have stated this argument at some length, as showing to what an advanced position Mr. Gladstone had come, since the publication of his work on Church and State. The whole period from 1840 to 1855, may justly be regarded as a period of transition; he was outgrowing the traditions of his youth, and was becoming fixed in those opinions of which he afterward became one of the most eminent expounders and upholders, if not, indeed, the first in rank.

This increasing liberalism in sentiment was still further evidenced by his speeches during the same session upon a measure which Lord John Russell brought forward, relative to the oaths which the members of Parliament were obliged to take; and in a subsequent debate upon the subject of Church Rates.

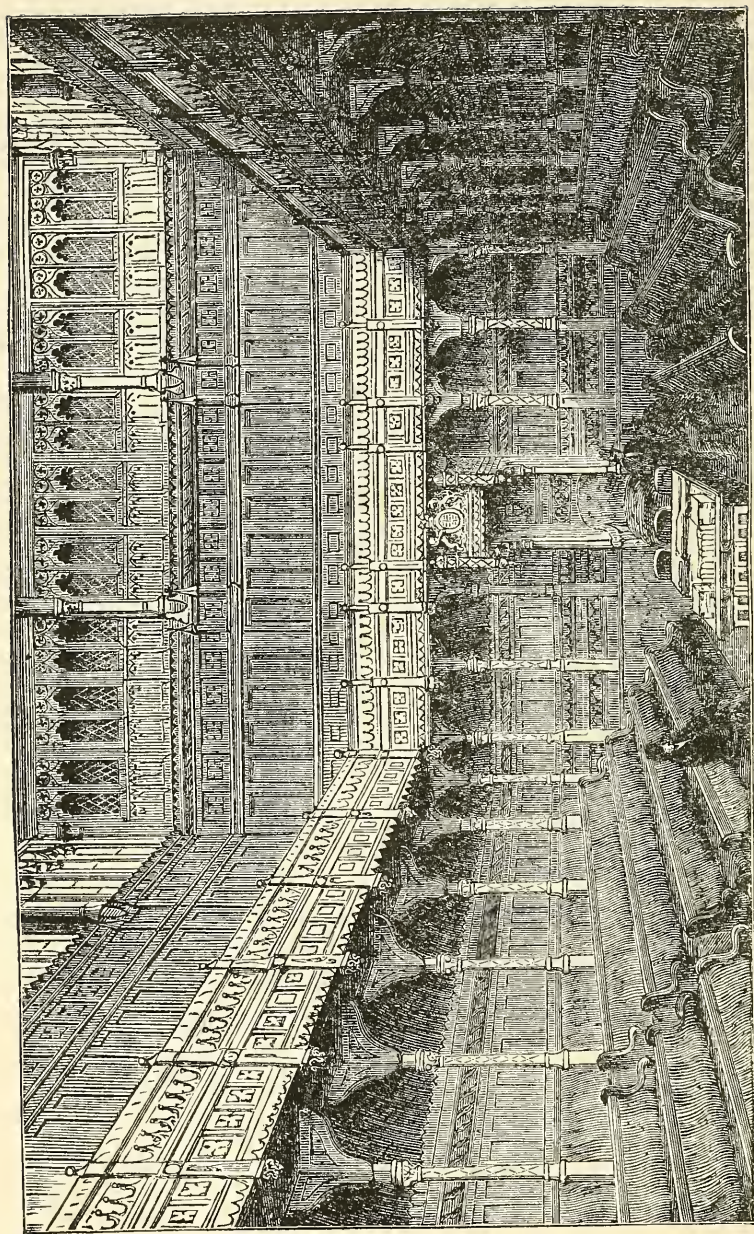
In the session of 1849, the President of the Board of Trade again brought forward the question of modifying the Navigation Laws; and the moderate changes which were proposed by the Minister were supported by Mr. Gladstone, with certain suggestions for change which were resisted by the Ministry, though the bill was finally modified into a sort of a compromise between the original measure and the proposed amendments. At a later stage of the proceedings, Mr. Disraeli spoke, with the usual amount of personal invective. It was now directed against Mr. Gladstone, who had yielded in some degree to the Board of Trade, to prevent the total lack of action upon this important measure. Mr. Gladstone's reply to these strictures closed with these words: "I am perfectly satisfied to bear his sarcasm, good-humored and brilliant as it is, while I can appeal to his judgment as to whether the step which I have taken was unbecoming in one who conscientiously differs from him on the freedom of trade, and endeavors to realize it; because, so far from its being the cause of the distress of the country, it has been, under the

mercy of God, the most signal and effectual means of mitigating this distress, and accelerating the dawn of the day of returning prosperity." The tone of this reply to a bitter personal attack, shows most conclusively what has been frequently claimed for Gladstone, that he has no trace of personal bitterness in his nature; that his opposition of measures does not imply his enmity toward the men who support them; and that he frequently felt the most sincere admiration for the men whom he most persistently fought.

The condition of Canada again came up for consideration in this session, and Mr. Gladstone spoke several times, both in the House and in committee, supporting the right of Parliament to interfere in all imperial concerns. His direct opponent in this question was Mr. Roebuck, who had before acted as agent for the Canadians, though he was now a member of Parliament. In the opinion of Lord John Russell, the course which Mr. Gladstone recommended would tend to aggravate the troubles in Canada, where the public peace had already been violated by many riots, some of them widespread. The question could not be decided in that session, but frequently came up for discussion, the House being desirous that the matter might be in such shape as to show the various colonies, particularly those most interested, what was likely to be the course pursued; that the colonial assemblies might be able to make such suggestions as would improve the course to be taken. Mr. Gladstone's experience in the Colonial Office of course made his statements of value; and although no direct action was taken, he seems to have had no small part in modifying the original opinions of many members on this subject. He was already a power in the House.

During this session there was brought forward that bill which appears to possess perennial interest for a small, though constantly increasing, class of British legislators—of whom the Prince of Wales is now the head—intended to legalize marriage with a deceased wife's sister. We find Mr. Gladstone strongly opposing the bill, on theological, social and moral grounds. The bill was, as usual, supported only by a minority.

The session of 1850 opened with a discussion of the Poor Laws of the kingdom; a most important subject, in view of the distress so generally prevailing. In this debate Mr. Gladstone appears as the supporter of Mr. Disraeli, who made the motion



The Hall of the House of Commons.

for the consideration of these regulations. The Free-Trader, however, expressly reserved the right to withdraw his support if the Protectionist ventured to introduce any peculiar doctrine of his section of the party into the question; but the motion was lost by a small majority. It is to be noted that in this case Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone took opposite sides of the question.

The subject of Colonial Governments was also one which occupied the attention of British legislators at this time; and when the Prime Minister unfolded the policy of the Government, we find Mr. Gladstone the earnest supporter of those amendments which were calculated to emancipate the colonies from the rule of the central power in as many respects as were consistent with their dependence finally upon the mother country. When he saw that this view of the question would not be adopted by a majority of the members, he endeavored to delay the final decision until the Colonial Governments should have an opportunity of expressing themselves upon a question in which they were so deeply interested; but although his arguments were based upon privileges that had been given to some colonies, and should not, therefore, be withheld from any, his motion to delay was lost by a very considerable majority. It is curious to note that among those who then supported him, as appears from the list of those who, in division, voted for his motion, were some of the men who have since most persistently opposed him, Disraeli among the number.

We again find the old question of the slave-trade revived in this session, in the form of a debate upon restoring the duties upon sugar grown by slave labor. England had for some time been endeavoring to put an end to the slave trade, having entered into treaties with other countries to maintain armed vessels along the coast of Africa for that purpose; but this had been pronounced futile by no less an authority than Sir Fowell Buxton, who had been so prominent in the measures for abolition. Though Mr. Gladstone conceded the necessity of Protection in this instance, his support did not bring success to the motion.

Passing over the debate on the inquiry into the condition of the English Universities, in which Mr. Gladstone opposed the issuing of a Royal Commission, we next hear of him in connection with the troubles with Greece. Perhaps there never was more

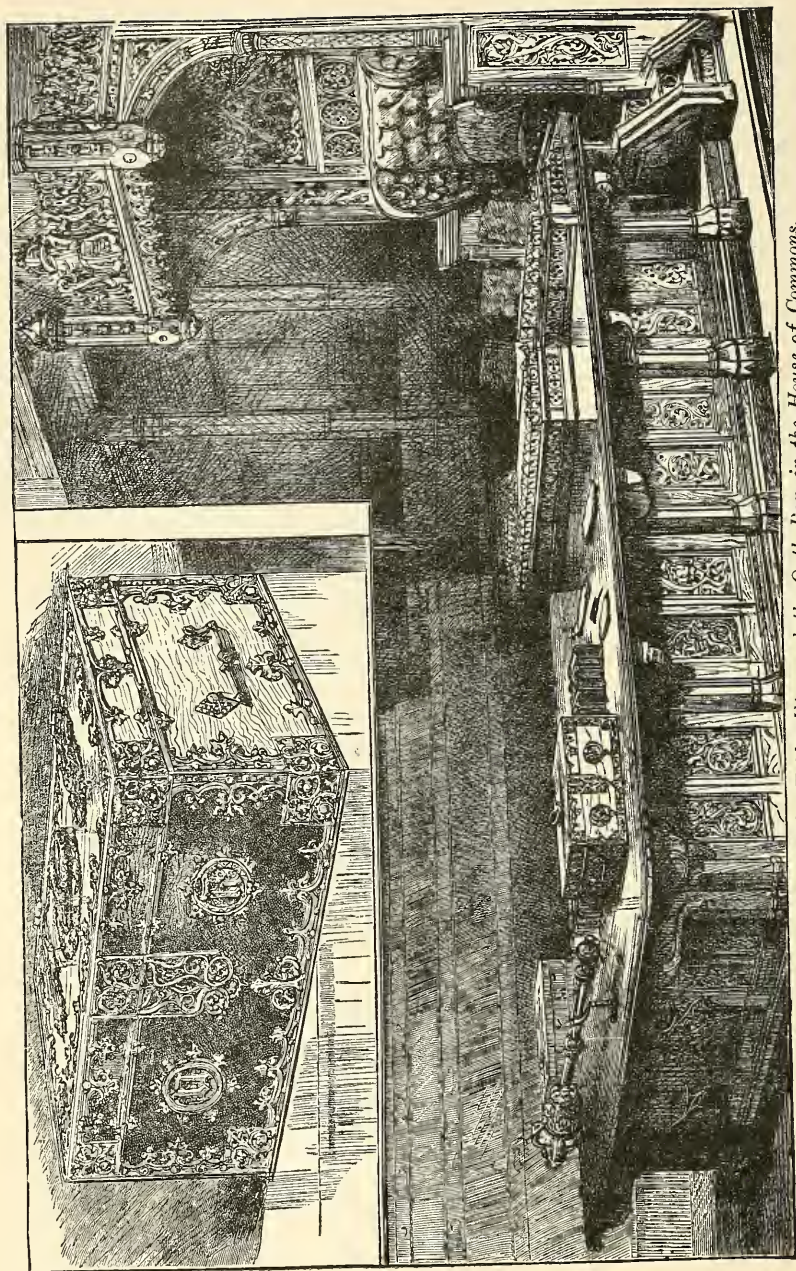
smoke with less fire than in these same Greek troubles. Various outrages had been committed by Greeks against British citizens; but they were of such a nature as might have been readily repaired if the Greek Government had been a little less dilatory and the British a little less impatient. Many of the claims were absurdly exaggerated; one of the complainants was Don Pacifico, a Jew of Portuguese descent, a native of Gibraltar, a subject of Great Britain, and a resident of Athens; the house of this cosmopolitan gentleman had been destroyed by an angry mob, and he wanted compensation for it and its contents; the justice of his claim may be inferred from the fact that he rated his pillow-cases as worth ten pounds each. Others there were whose claims possessed more moderation, but the Greek Government seems, at this lapse of time, entirely justifiable in its delays. Lord Palmerston, however, who was at the head of the Foreign Office, thought that the efforts of England to assist Greece in maintaining her independence, deserved some consideration; and had, besides, taken up the idea that the representatives of other powers at the Court of Athens were constantly caballing against England. An English fleet was sent to the Piræus, and blockaded that port, seizing all the vessels of the Greek Government and of private merchants which it found there.

France and Russia remonstrated at this high-handed proceeding; the Foreign Secretary, who was always inclined to resent interference with his independence of action, replied, with due formality, that it was a matter wholly between Great Britain and Greece, and that other Powers had nothing to do with it. This somewhat brusque reply did not carry with it the weight which was intended, and both France and Russia persisted until the matter was made a question for international arbitration, and finally settled in that way.

But while it was still undecided, the debate in both Houses of Parliament was keen, and in some respects entitled to rank among the most remarkable which have ever been heard there; certainly, there was never such a flood of eloquence poured forth about such trivial questions before or since. The course of Lord Palmerston was regarded as a very high-handed proceeding, and a vote of censure was proposed in the House of Lords; to offset this, Mr. Roebuck, an independent member of the House, was induced to bring forward a motion affirming

that the policy of the Government was approved by the Commons. This was a cunning device to entrap the members who did not wholly approve of the action of Palmerston, but were unwilling to condemn the general policy of the Government, into an expression favorable to the particular action then under consideration. Lord Palmerston had supported his course in one of the most brilliant speeches ever heard in the House of Lords. All the arguments based upon the triviality of the claims or the character and station of the men who desired redress, he answered with the unanswerable one that there was no man entitled to protection at the hands of the British Government whom that Government would not protect, be he ever so lowly or even ridiculous. Ridicule and laughter were out of place when the smallest right of a British subject, violated by a foreign power, was to be redressed. It was in this famous speech that he used the comparison between the privileges of a Roman citizen and these of a British subject, and protested that one should be as safe as the other had been. The oration was a marvelous one, occupying full five hours in the delivery, full of facts, names, dates, figures, references of all kinds, but delivered without the help of a single note. But all was summed up in the one phrase, *Civis Romanus sum*, and it was that which carried the day for the speaker, in spite of all opposition.

But there were those in the House of Commons, who, as far as argument could reply to enthusiasm, were quite capable of answering this speech. We pass over the defense of Palmerston's policy by Mr. Cockburn, since Lord Chief Justice of England, a speech which was only second to Palmerston's own as a brilliant defense, and which first assured the rank of the speaker as an orator; and the "calm, grave, studiously moderate remonstrance of Sir Robert Peel." The most exhaustive answer, and the one upon which the Opposition chiefly relied as an expression of their opinion, was Mr. Gladstone's. He put the Roman citizen business in the strong light of common sense; the Roman was the representative of the conqueror, a member of a privileged caste, a citizen of a nation which had one law for him and another for the subject world; the British subject, on the other hand, should claim only such privileges as his Government was willing to grant to others. But it was all of no avail, contrasted as it must be with the brilliancy of Palmerston; the British subject was at least the equal of the Roman citizen, and the



The Speaker's Chair, the Table, Etc., and the Oath Box, in the House of Commons.

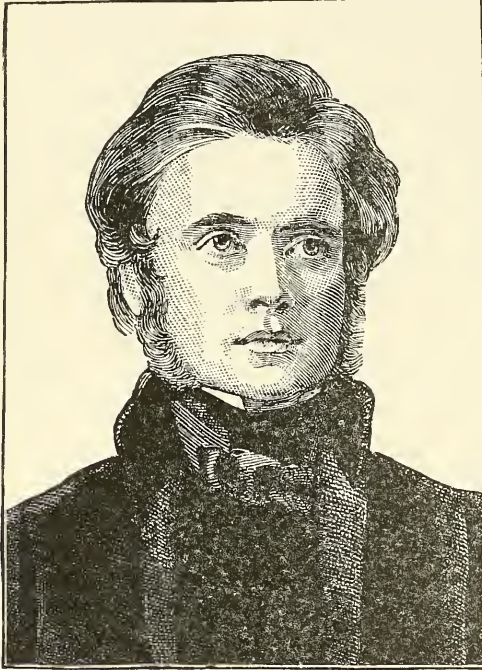
course of the Government which maintained this was approved.

It is pleasing to find this utterance of Peel on this occasion free from that bitterness which is apt to creep into political controversies; and to learn that he had spoken in the highest praise of the eloquence of the man whose policy he thought wrong. We say that this generosity is pleasing, for this was to be the last debate in which the great Tory was to take part; and his life had not been spent in bitter struggles, but in earnest ones. Leaving the House of Commons early on the morning of June 29th, 1850 (for the division on this question was not taken until four in the morning), he was thrown from his horse the afternoon of the same day, and died July 2nd, from the injuries received. His death took place at a comparatively early age, for he was sixty-two, an age at which many an English statesman has been in the very heyday of his career. Indeed, Palmerston, who was some years older, was just beginning to taste success; and the examples of Gladstone and Disraeli, who were premiers at the respective ages of sixty and sixty-three for the first time, are other instances of the late hour at which the highest success is often achieved. Although Peel's health had for some time been so bad that he had announced his intention to live a quieter life, there is little doubt that the growing unpopularity of the Ministry would soon have brought about their resignation, when Peel must again have been placed at the head of affairs.

It is idle to speculate upon the turn which English politics would have taken, in case Peel had lived to secure a speedy Conservative victory; nor do our limits allow it. His death was regarded as a public calamity, and even those statesmen who had been most opposed to him spoke in praise of the qualities which he had shown himself possessed of. The old Duke of Wellington spoke of him with tears running down his cheeks, which he did not attempt to hide. In the Commons, which had been the immediate scene of so many of his triumphs, the respect shown was equally great. Praises, not extravagant, but well-deserved, were showered upon the dead statesman; and his most illustrious follower only voiced the general opinion of the man when he pronounced that funeral oration which is justly conceded to be not unworthy of the name of Gladstone.

The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill came up for consideration in the latter part of the year 1850, and the debates upon it ran over into the next year. This bill, which Roebuck characterized as

“one of the meanest, pettiest, and most futile measures which ever disgraced bigotry itself,” and which sturdy John Bright declared was “little, paltry and miserable, a mere sham to bolster Church ascendancy,” was introduced by Lord John Russell himself, and proposed to forbid, under certain penalties, the assumption by Roman Catholic ecclesiastics of any title taken from the name of any territory or place in the United Kingdom. Disraeli, who did not oppose it, spoke in terms of contempt of it, as a mere piece of petty persecution; and this seems to have been



John Bright in His Youth.

the attitude of many who voted for the introduction of the bill. When the division was taken on the question as to whether it should be considered, there were three hundred and ninety-five ayes to only sixty-three noes; but among those who made up this small number, besides the Catholic members, were such men as Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and others of nearly equal note.

In the debates ensuing, the Opposition was materially weakened by the character of some of the men who came to their assistance, men who, dubbed “The Pope’s Brass Band,” were equally distrusted by the more intelligent Catholics and the more bigoted Tories; while to the former the bill appeared only in the light of an insult.

But the Government lost ground steadily. During the time at which the bill was in debate, another question was brought up, on which the Ministry obtained a majority of only fourteen; a bill brought in by a member of the Opposition left the Government

in a minority of forty-eight, though the attendance was so small when the division was called for as to prove it a "snap vote." The budget had been received with much dissatisfaction, which was daily increasing. Under such circumstances, Lord John Russell concluded that there was nothing for him to do but to resign; and resign he did, leaving the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill still pending.

A year before, the question as to who was to be his successor would probably have been answered at once; but Peel was dead, and his mantle did not seem to have fallen upon any one of his followers. True, there was a considerable party known as the "Peelites," who were distinct from the Tories, to which organization most of them once belonged, and had not yet assimilated with the Liberals, to which most of them were tending. The death of Sir Robert Peel had increased the political independence of his followers, for he was so closely connected with the traditions of the Conservatives, if not of the Tories, that he was claimed as a member of that party; and his personal adherents were not likely to leave him. But with his death, the principles which had seemed but occasional differences with those held by the body of the party, grew into the essential ones of their political faith; and the Peelites became quite distinct from the Conservatives.

There were then three great parties, the Liberals, the Conservatives, and the Peelites; and any ministry must be formed of members of two of these, for no Government could stand against two united in opposition. But the Whigs insisted upon the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and the Tories upon Protection, and the Peelites would not join either party while these principles were supported. On the other hand, the party which thus held the balance of power would not try the extent of it, though the post of First Lord of the Treasury was offered to Lord Aberdeen, the chief of the party in the House of Lords; for some action must be taken on the bill still pending, and a Peelite Government would be defeated at once. Such being the case, Lord John Russell resumed office, and the bill which had excited such opposition was passed. Before its passage, however, the efforts of its enemies had shorn success of its value, by making such amendments as made the bill practically worthless for the purpose which it was originally intended to serve. It was never enforced, even in this modified form.

It is immediately after this debate that we learn of another trip to the continent on the part of Mr. Gladstone. This was not the first, of course, since that from which he had been recalled to stand for Newark; but its results were so important that it deserves mention. Purely domestic circumstances, he himself tells us, occasioned his residence at Naples for some months about this time; but though he had not gone on any errand of political criticism or censorship, he could not but be interested in the state of affairs in that country.

The accession of Ferdinand II., had been hailed as the beginning of a new era for the wretched kingdom of the Two Sicilies; and the new reign began with many acts of royal clemency toward political offenders. But the liberal measures of the king were regarded as dangerous by his royal relatives in Austria and other countries, and he was forced, perhaps not unwillingly, to abandon them. The result was insurrection throughout the country, which, after the French Revolution of 1848, terminated in the king's granting a constitution to his people. When the reaction came in Italy, he set aside the constitution thus granted, and proceeded to wreak his vengeance upon all who had taken part in the effort for reform. At the time of Mr. Gladstone's temporary residence there, more than one-half of the legislative body were in confinement as political prisoners; or exiled; and other subjects to the number of twenty thousand were deprived of their liberty. This number seems incredibly large, but some estimates placed the figures half as high again, while the refusal of the Neapolitan Government to make any statement whatever rendered it impossible to get at exact figures. Hundreds were indicted for capital offences. These political prisoners were confined in the same apartments with the vilest criminals, and, like them, were loaded with chains. Suffering from diseases contracted by their confinement in the loathsome dungeons and the insufficient food with which they were furnished, they were obliged to crawl painfully up long flights of steps for the medical assistance which the Government vouchsafed to give them; because the apartments which they occupied were such that no physician would enter, out of regard for his own health. In such circumstances, it is not plain why any physicians should be allowed to relieve them, if such a feat were possible to medicine. Nor was this all. Though it was the beginning of the latter half of the nineteenth century, some of

these offenders against the divine right of kings were subjected to tortures which would have done credit to the Middle Ages.

Mr. Gladstone's action was characteristic. First making such close and accurate observations as the jealousy of the Government would permit, and thoroughly informing himself of the extent of these outrages upon the liberty of the subject, he addressed himself to the Earl of Aberdeen, who, as we have seen, was regarded as the chief of the Peelite party, of which Mr. Gladstone was so prominent a member. His reasons for taking action he carefully stated: as a member of the Conservative party (with which the Peelites were still nominally classed), he was concerned in the stability of all the established governments of Europe, and the outrages perpetrated by the king would surely lead to Republicanism; but, more than this, Ferdinand and his creatures had offended against the laws of humanity, and all who loved the cause of humanity, of civilization, of religion, of decency, must unite to condemn him and his actions. The appeal was a stirring one; and when, shortly afterward, it was followed by another from the same pen, the writer's wishes were fully realized.

Mr. Gladstone was careful to make his accusations against the Neapolitan tyrant purely personal, and to avoid mixing up any official, diplomatical, or political British agencies in them; and this course had precisely the effect which he had looked for. His remonstrances came in the name of common humanity; he was defending the right of all men to liberty which has never been forfeited by crime; and he did so, not as the representative of any Government, but as a clear-sighted man, a warm-hearted, liberal-minded statesman. As such he was recognized, by the officers of the British Government; and the popular interest in the Neapolitan prisons was voiced in the proceedings which were taken by the Foreign Office. Mr. Gladstone's second letter did something more than merely reiterate the statements contained in the first. They were broadened and deepened, until the case which he made out seemed altogether damning. No public trial had ever been accorded these unfortunates; and when a form had been gone through with, the accuser had been one of the judges, and had given the casting vote. Whatever the mind can imagine as typical of tyranny in the treatment of political enemies, that, without exaggeration, seems from Mr. Gladstone's two letters, and the specific statements contained in them, to



Mr. Gladstone Visiting the Political Prisoners at Naples, in 1850.

have been the fate of those Neapolitans who had sought their rights in the days of Garibaldi. And these statements, it is needless to add, were not the wild assertions which are sometimes rife; they were all based upon the best authority; in some cases, upon the results of his personal investigation; in others, they were so notorious that there was no attempt made to deny them at any time.

Attention was drawn in the House of Commons to the statements thus made and substantiated, and the question was directly put, whether the British Minister at Naples could not be instructed to interfere, to secure the more humane treatment of the prisoners. But diplomacy does not admit of such a direct course. The matter was one which affected only the internal economy of an independent kingdom, and as such Great Britain had no cause to interfere. At the same time, the matter was one which men of feeling could not pass over; and though the Government could not directly act in this matter, the Foreign Secretary said (and he was vociferously cheered when he said it), that he had sent copies of Mr. Gladstone's open letters to the English Ministers at all the courts of Europe, with instructions to call the attention of the Powers to the state of affairs there graphically described.

Of course the Neapolitan Government was far from being as well pleased with this action of Palmerston's as the House of Commons had been; and determined to vindicate itself. There had been some answers to Gladstone's letters published, but it is noticeable that these content themselves with assertions which are foreign to the subject, or praises of the virtues of Ferdinand, who is gravely said to have been a very religious man. They do not seem to have thought that Gladstone, the upholder of the union of Church and State, believed in mixing religion and politics so far that the latter was not entirely destitute of traces of the influence of the former.

This was the first reply which the accuser thought worthy of an answer; and this merely because it was an official utterance, not because the arguments there brought forward were such as to overthrow his own. Nine-tenths of the accusations were tacitly admitted; and the authorities which the Neapolitan Government invoked to disprove the others were poor and meager, compared with the wealth of testimony which Mr. Gladstone had adduced. He admitted what they claimed, that in five instances

he had been mistaken; but he reiterated the charges which they had not denied, and added proof to proof to convince the world at large that more than twenty thousand men were suffering from the tyranny of Ferdinand. The blunders of his critics were mercilessly exposed. Their greatest blunder, according to the author of an anonymous pamphlet on the subject, which appeared in 1852, was in answering at all.

But no direct action was taken by the European Governments, and Ferdinand cared nothing for mere opinions. Only the remembrance of these outrages was stored up in the hearts of men, and made them the more ready to look upon Garibaldi as the hand and brain which, in liberating Italy from the dominion of her petty tyrants, should do much for the cause of liberty throughout the world. Not until the last of December, 1858, does the Neapolitan Government seem to have taken any action to ameliorate the condition of their prisoners; ninety-one political offenders then had their punishment commuted to perpetual banishment; but it is a sufficient commentary upon the treatment which they had received, that fourteen of these had died in their dungeons, while others were too ill to be moved.

We have followed the course of events in the English Parliament during the greater part of this year, the visit to Naples having preceded the passage of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. To the story, thus told without interruption from the recounting of events with which it had little connection, we have but to add some statements regarding a change in the Ministry. Lord Palmerston, so long connected with the Foreign Office, left it in December, 1851. His retirement was not a voluntary one, as he had given great offence by frequently acting without consulting his superiors in office, or laying his plans of action before the Queen. More than this, he had, both in public dispatches and private conversation, expressed a most decided opinion in regard to the Prince-President of France, Louis Napoleon; in distinct violation of the wishes of the Queen and of the Cabinet.

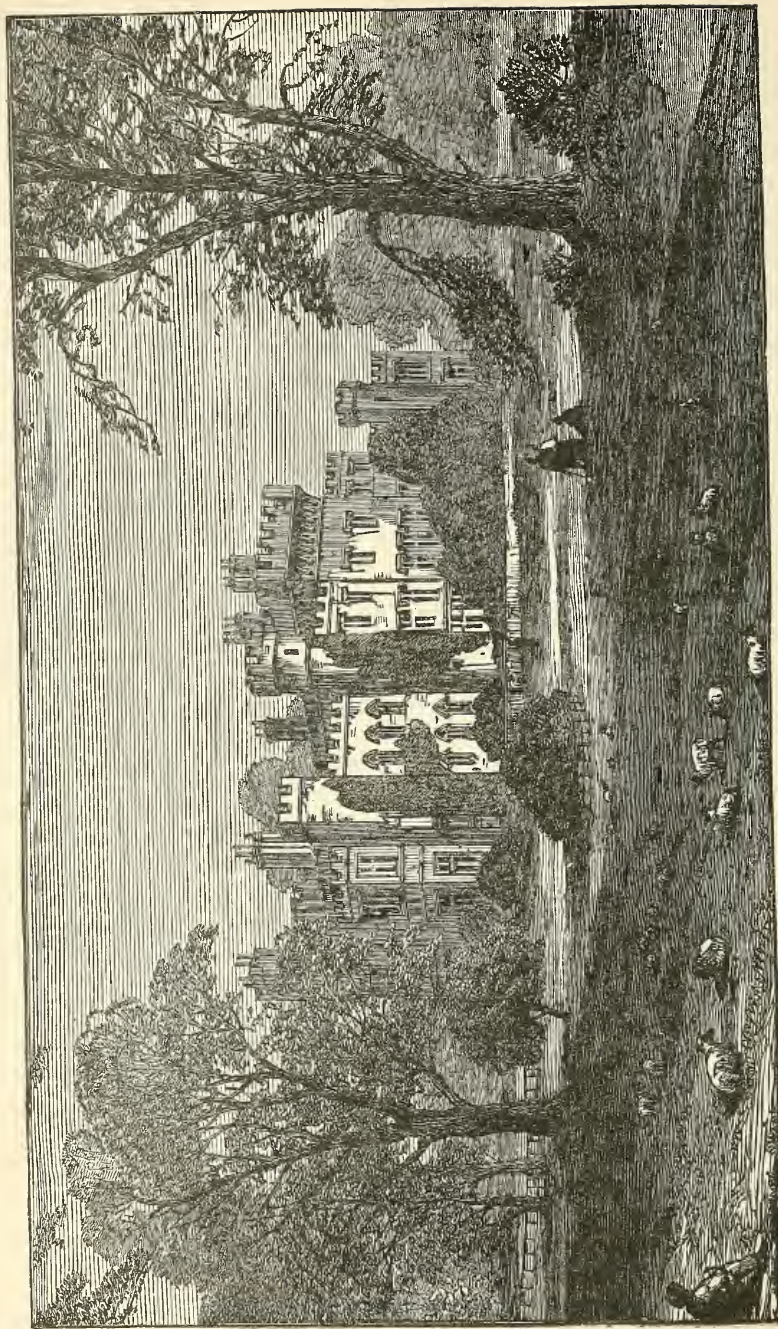
Lord John Russell resigned the premiership in February, 1852, and Lord Derby, who had but recently succeeded to that title, and was better known as Lord Stanley, was appointed in his place. Disraeli had happily christened this nobleman the "Rupert of Debate," in allusion to his ability and his blunders; as Prince Rupert frequently lost the battles which his headlong courage had almost won, by the mistakes which he made in the

use of his advantages. It is significant of the state of English politics at this time, that Mr. Gladstone, who afterward virtually drove this Ministry from power, could have had a place in it if he would have accepted it.

The new Ministry was not a strong one. Palmerston said that it "contained two men and a number of ciphers." The two men were Derby and Disraeli; the others had neither ability or experience to recommend them. The old Duke of Wellington, who was at this time more than eighty, was very much interested in this Ministry, and anxious to know its *personnel*. Being very deaf, his conversation with Lord Derby was heard over the House of Lords. The Duke would inquire as to the appointee to some particular office; the Earl would reply, "Who? Who?" The Duke would ask again, not hearing the unfamiliar names with the same readiness as if they had been well-known to him; and the same performance would be repeated with the next name. The story was told by those who heard the conversation, and the new Government was irreverently dubbed the "Who? Who? Ministry."

Mr. Disraeli was the Chancellor of the Exchequer and at the same time the leader of the House of Commons. But it has been aptly said that his party was more afraid of his genius than of the dullness of his colleagues. He was placed in a situation of peculiar difficulty. The Conservatives claimed to have a considerable majority in the House of Commons; they would perhaps have a larger one in the next Parliament; but the Liberal Ministry was continued in power solely for the reason that no one was ready to take the reins of office out of their hands. The disadvantage of being in a Ministry which cannot command a majority, was shared with all his colleagues; but Mr. Disraeli was undertaking a task for which he had been thought to display no aptitude whatever. He had never before held office; he was not credited with any capacity for the mastery of figures; and the cleverness of the speech with which he entered upon the duties of his office was a surprise to all who heard him.

The position of the Ministry upon the important subject of Protection was a strange one, and one which was only too likely to involve it in difficulties. Lord Derby had indiscreetly declared that he did not regard the question as definitely settled, although it was now six years since the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the prosperity of the country had been increasing ever since



Hawarden Castle—Residence of Hon. William E. Gladstone.

the effect of the repeal had been felt. But Mr. Disraeli was by no means of the same opinion. He saw, only too clearly, that the position was an untenable one; and with a coolness which at least bordered upon effrontery, told the House of Commons that he had never attempted to reverse the principle of Free Trade. This, however, was not until the session which began in November, 1852, when the considerable losses with which the Ministry had met in the elections may have taught the right honorable gentleman what were the effects of re-opening the question which had so long been considered settled.

The session had opened with eulogies upon the Duke of Wellington, who had died in the previous September. Prominent among these speakers on the hero of a war so long past, we find Mr. Gladstone, who appears by this time to be so far recognized as the leading speaker in the House that he was expected to speak on all such occasions. The peculiar dignity to which "the Duke," as he was always called in these last years of his life, as if there were no other of that rank in the country, had attained, was well described by Mr. Gladstone:

"It may never be given to another subject of the British Crown to perform services so brilliant as he performed; it may never be given to another man to hold the sword which was to gain the independence of Europe, to rally the nations around it, and while England saved herself by her constancy, to save Europe by her example; it may never be given to another man, after having attained such eminence, after such an unexampled series of victories, to show equal moderation in peace as he had shown greatness in war, and to devote the remainder of his life to the cause of internal and external peace for the country which he has so served; it may never be given to another man to have equal authority both with the Sovereign he served, and with the senate of which he was to the end a venerated member; it may never be given to another man, after such a career, to preserve even to the last the full possession of those great faculties with which he was endowed, and to carry on the services of one of the most important departments of the State with unexampled regularity and success, even to the latest day of his life."

The House was at once involved in discussions on the question of Free Trade; a resolution was proposed, affirming that the improved condition of the people was mainly due to the repeal of the duties in 1846; and although this was negatived, an amend-

ment affirming that the principle of unrestricted competition, together with the abolition of protecting taxes, had diminished the cost and increased the supply of the chief articles of food, and so brought about the improved state of the country, was adopted by the tremendous majority of four hundred and fifteen, in a House of little over five hundred members. It was during this debate that Mr. Disraeli made the astonishing statements to which reference has already been made; and he even went to the length of assaulting the memory of Sir Robert Peel. This was more than the followers of that statesman could stand, and more than one of his adherents was ready with a vindication of his life and course in political matters.

Early in December Mr. Disraeli brought forward his first budget. His speech extended over more than five hours. His first budget had of course been a mere makeshift, for he had not had time to prepare one which would be a real test of his powers in that direction. This was made ready under the most favorable circumstances, as to the time, that any one could expect; and the House was ready to see what kind of a plan this remarkable man would present to it. But the other conditions were not so favorable. He had to please the interest which he had really represented for so long, the country gentry and farmers, and how he was to do this, without still further alienating the Peelites and Free Traders, was more than any one could well see.

The budget proposed to remit a part of the taxes on malt, tea, and sugar; to extend the income tax to funded property and salaries in Ireland, to make up the deficit caused by the remission; and to make some changes in this tax in other respects; the house tax was also to be extended and increased.

The speech which proposed these changes excited great opposition, which was voiced by Mr. Gladstone in one of the fiercest invectives which ever fell from his lips. His answer was by some regarded as too bitter and pungent; but it must be remembered that he was smarting under the thought that this was the man who had so lately assailed the beloved chief under whom he had served; and the personal popularity of Peel seems to have been great during his life, and to have lasted long after his death. Mr. Disraeli, in reply, made one of those personal attacks for which he had already become famous, upon Sir James Graham, who was looked upon as the leader of the Peelites in the House of Commons, and whose support was so valuable,

that it was commonly said that a speech from him was worth fifty votes to any measure. He then turned upon Sir Charles Wood, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, and leaning across the table and directing his words full at him, said: "I care not to be the right honorable gentleman's critic; but if he has learned his business, he has yet to learn that petulance is not sarcasm, and that insolence is not invective." It was two o'clock in the morning, but the members had no thought of sleep; the contest was too exciting for that; Mr. Disraeli had hardly uttered the last sentence of his speech when Mr. Gladstone leaped upon his feet to answer him. This debate upon the budget was the first time that they had come into such bitter collision; and this second speech of Mr. Gladstone was burning with more than the energy of the first. The House had been listening to Disraeli with an interest rarely felt in the speeches of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and when Gladstone arose it was thought that after such a speech even he could make but little impression. But they who judged so were in the wrong. A yet greater effect was produced by the reply of Mr. Gladstone, all unpremeditated as it was; and when the division was taken two hours later, the Government was left in a minority of nineteen.

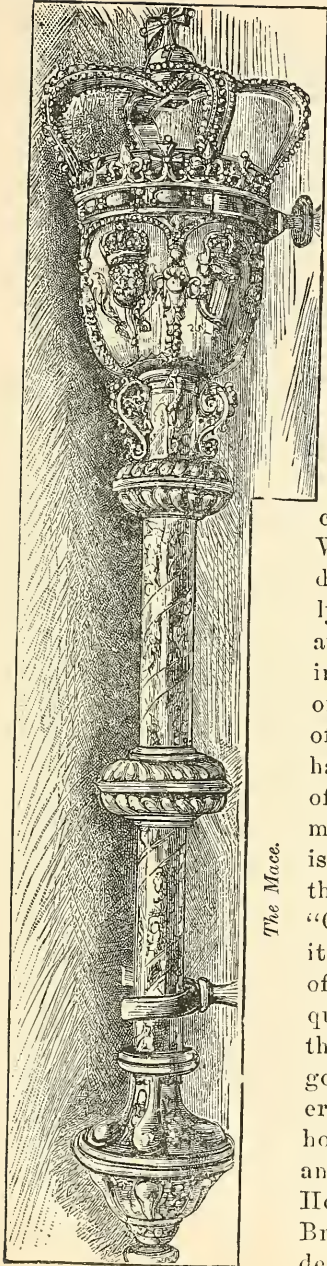
The Chancellor of the Exchequer left the building with a friend; as they looked out upon the streets, dim and grey with the lights of the night which had not yet ended, and shining with the rain which was falling steadily and drearily, he remarked, coolly, as he buttoned up his coat: "It will be an unpleasant day for going to Osborne." Such was his only expression regarding the resignation which had been forced so early in his official career.

There was no other course for the Ministry, thus defeated upon their most important measure, to pursue; and that day the resignation of the various members was duly placed in Her Majesty's hands. A few days afterward, the Coalition Ministry was formed. The Earl of Aberdeen was Prime Minister, Lord John Russell Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Palmerston was at the Home Office, and Mr. Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Having made such a brilliant onslaught upon the late budget, and such a crushing expose of its blunders, he had now an opportunity of trying his own powers at the task in which his rival had failed so disastrously.

Thus the chapter begins and ends with a conflict with Disraeli;

a conflict which, as McCarthy observes, ended only when Disraeli crossed the threshold of the House of Commons for the last time, to take his place in the House of Lords as the Earl of Beaconsfield. Perhaps the real antagonism of the men, who represented such essentially different ideas, lasted longer than this; until the Earl of Beaconsfield, the first and last to bear the title, was carried out from his home of Hughenden, its master no longer, to rest beside that remarkable wife who was the chief helper in his many struggles. The life duel was carried on both in and out of the House of Commons, but it is of the former to which history will have most reference. The very formation of the hall in which the House met emphasized the antagonism. Although the scene of some of the most brilliant debates of modern times and the cradle of British oratory, the House is more like a committee-room, in point of size, than a legislative assembly. For years there have been over 600 members and an attendance of 500 is quite common. But there is only sitting accommodation for about 360, or at most 400, on the floor of the House. There are neither tables nor desks for the convenience of members, who are ranged on cushioned benches with a minimum of space both as regards width and leg room. Members wear their hats during the transaction of business, being expected to uncover only when rising to address the House or during the reading of a royal message. The benches run up and down the Hall, with a space in the centre, and thus ministerialists and members in opposition sit face to face on either side of the aisle in front of the Speaker. The front row on the Government side of the House is assigned to Cabinet Ministers and others holding office. Disraeli, when Premier, occupied the seat nearest the Speaker, but Gladstone always favored a position a little farther down. The corresponding bench on the Opposition side is occupied by the leader of the Opposition and by ex-ministers.

Thus the leading party men sit very close to each other, but are separated by the historical table, on which stands the symbolic mace, the official documents and papers of the House, the oath box and the Ministers' despatch boxes. If this table could but speak and recount its wrongs, it would tell of scores, nay thousands of vicious and violent blows. Gladstone has emphasized some of his brilliant efforts by means of blows with clenched fists, such as could only be dealt by a man who is an athlete

*The Mace.*

as well as a statesman; Disraeli has also pounded it pretty badly. Once the latter became so enraged in the course of a word conflict with Gladstone, that he shouted out with great vehemence, that he was thankful the table divided them.

The mace is the most important piece of furniture in this severely simple looking hall. Its antiquity is very great; it is borne before the Speaker when he enters the House and when he leaves it; it is supposed by some to symbolize the authority of the Crown, and its presence on the table also indicates that the House is in session. When Cromwell forcibly dissolved a disobedient House, he did so by coarsely ordering his attendants to "take away this bauble," and the solemn and imposing emblem was for once dishonored. It is in the conventionalized form of a head wearing a crown, thus, perhaps, signifying a supposed presence of the Sovereign. There are several maces, but the one in our illustration is most commonly used, and probably the most ancient. From the initials "C. R.," repeatedly stamped upon it, it is presumed to date from the reign of either Charles I. or Charles II. The quality of the metal work is not of the finest known in the history of the goldsmith's art in England, being rather inferior to the best examples. It is, however, an interesting piece of plate, and, like every antique article in the House, is preserved with the usual British reverence for age and precedent.

CHAPTER V.

THE MINISTRY OF ALL THE TALENTS.

Mr. Gladstone's Early Political Faith—His Act of Self-denial—First Step Toward Leaving the Conservative Party—House of Commons and the New Chancellor of the Exchequer—Grows Eloquent Over a Dry Subject—Debate on the Income Tax—Impending War—Will of the People Must be Obeyed—Measures for Raising Revenue—Bitter Tannts from Disraeli—Views of the Prince Consort—Miss Florence Nightingale—The Crimean War—Impressive Scene in the House of Commons—New Ministry by Lord Palmerston—Lord John Russell—Great Speech by Mr. Gladstone—Continuance of the War Debates.

WHEN Mr. Gladstone entered Parliament in 1832, he was an ardent supporter of all those measures with which the ultra Tories were then associated; he would have condemned Reform, perhaps, had he been in the previous Parliament; as it was, he sat for what was really a pocket-borough, and one which was not likely to be given up by its virtual owner, since he was one of the most stubborn anti-Reformers in all England. He was then an advocate of Protection; he upheld the union of Church and State, and boldly proclaimed his opinion that the State had (or ought to have) a conscience; he was ready to fight to the death all contemners of the Established Church of Ireland. With the latter feeling, and the changes which it underwent, we shall have more to do hereafter; the subject of the disestablishment of the Irish Church is one of such importance, both in itself, and, what is of more moment to us, as one of the main points of Mr. Gladstone's career, that we shall consider that apart from all other measures in the success or defeat of which this most liberal minded of English statesmen has had a hand.

In his "Chapter of Autobiography," which is in the main a defence of his change of opinion regarding the Irish Church, he alludes to the three great measures which Sir Robert Peel at first vehemently opposed, but afterward was among the first to carry out—Catholic Emancipation, Parliamentary Reform, and Free Trade. Such changes, the writer argues, are due to a lack



MR. GLADSTONE AND HIS GRANDSON, DEINIOL GLADSTONE

of foresight; not that the statesmen who have thus altered their opinions possessed less of this desirable quality than their predecessors who have been more consistent; but the enlargement of the governing class, the gradual transfer of political power from groups and limited classes to the community, has rendered a much larger range necessary—a range greater than is possible to mere men. His further argument is even stronger than this; admitting that such foresight were possessed by a statesman—

“The public mind is, to a great degree, unconscious of its own progression; and it would resent and repudiate, if offered to its mature judgment, the very policy which after a while it will gravely consider, and after another while enthusiastically embrace.”

This paragraph is the real defense which Gladstone makes, and it is the best that can be made, against those who upbraid him for his change of principle. It should be noted that they who do so are members of the party which he left, which has felt his loss severely. He expressly disclaims all desire of defending those who have made sudden modifications of the principles which they have previously upheld, for too obvious reasons; but his own political belief, though it may be radically different from what it was when he entered public life, has changed so gradually that it is plain to see the alterations are the results of conviction.

As a proof of this, it is unnecessary to refer to more than one instance, in that part of his career which has already been considered: his resignation from Sir Robert Peel's ministry in 1845. Commented on at the time as one of those rare instances in which a public man really injures himself by an act of self-denial, it yet had its advantage as showing how entirely earnest he was in any change which his convictions might undergo. It proved his sincerity then, and for all time to come. There is one view of the case, however, which must not be overlooked: it has been said that Mr. Gladstone is so skilled at argument, so well able to convince the doubtful of the truth of the point which he supports, that he is often led to believe that his own original position is untenable, simply by the force of the reasoning which he brings to bear upon the weak points which all positions must have. “He can convince himself of anything which he wishes to believe,” is the not too flattering verdict of one of

his self constituted judges ; it is a defect which is perhaps an essential element of a subtle reasoner's mental constitution ; but this judgment, though it has a show of profundity, leaves the question in exactly the same state as before ; the Liberals of the present day will still hold that he has always wished to believe in those principles which are, according to them, at the basis of all good government ; while the Tories will express the opposite opinion.

A more seathing criticism would be, that he has always managed to persuade himself that the measure which would serve him best was that which it was his duty to support, as the one which would be the best for the country ; but since the day when the *London News* recorded the first step which he took in a direction opposite to that in which he had been walking, and condemned the sacrifice as one which was far removed from wisdom, no one has made this assertion.

In 1852 was taken the first decisive action toward leaving the Conservative party. Hitherto his convictions might have changed from time to time, but so had those of many of the Tory leaders ; in one case, at any rate, he had but followed Peel and the great majority of his adherents ; he had in all crises considered himself bound to support the policy advocated by the Conservative chief ; but now there was coming a period of uncertainty, as much in his own mind as in the minds of those about him ; perhaps, indeed, his own doubts were sooner aroused, and more sharply defined, than those of others ; certainly he was offered a position in a Conservative cabinet long after the beginning of the period that we usually consider him a member of the opposing party.

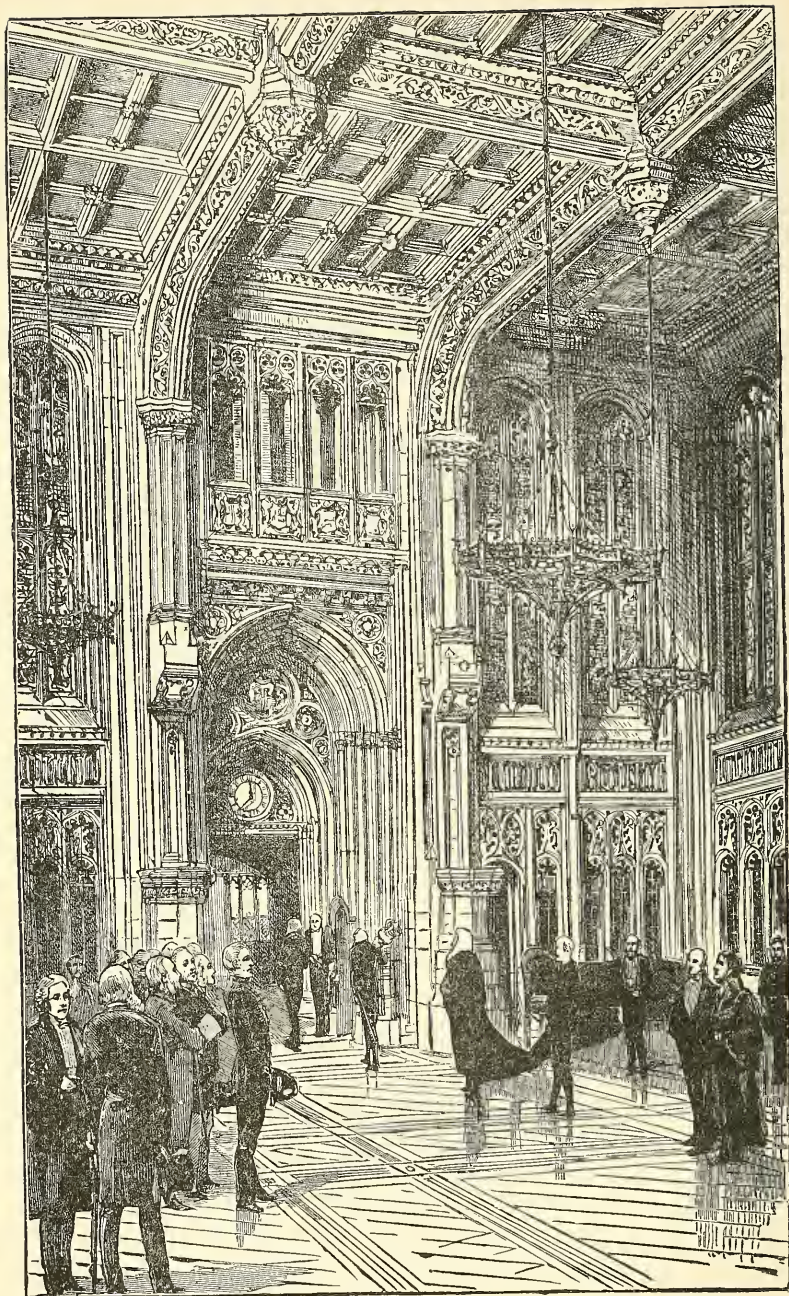
His joining the Coalition Ministry of 1852 had no significance, however, in this connection ; for the chief of that Government was Lord Aberdeen, the leader of the Peelites ; the Conservative members of that Cabinet certainly yielded no more than the Liberals did, and Palmerston and Russell were thoroughly identified with that party, and continued to be so after the fall of Aberdeen's administration. It was simply a temporary alliance made necessary by the state of the great parties at that date.

The newly appointed ministers had to seek re-election, and in this special contest Mr. Gladstone discovered, what he could not fail to have foreseen, that his tendencies to Liberalism were not approved by the electors of the University of Oxford. His

seat was hotly contested, though the only opponent that could be found for him was a gentleman who was merely the son of his father. The father was Perceval, that Prime Minister who in 1812 had been assassinated in the lobby of the House of Commons; the son was so little known, that the *Times*, which was then a better friend to Mr. Gladstone and his allies than in 1887-8, sarcastically described him "as a very near relative of our old friend Mrs. Harris," and called upon his supporters to prove his actual existence. But Mr. Gladstone's course, in regard to the divisions upon ecclesiastical subjects, had been very offensive to many of the Oxonians; and his majority, even over this unknown and untried man, could hardly be called a manifestation of great popularity. Perhaps a more eloquent testimony to the esteem in which he was then held by the thinkers is the fact that of the one hundred and one professors whose votes were recorded, and of whom twelve were neutral, no less than seventy-four voted for Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Gladstone's first feat in connection with the important office which he now held was the maturing of a plan for the reduction of the National Debt. Supported by the prominent Radical members of the House, as well as by those who ordinarily adhered to the Government, this plan was adopted and put into immediate operation. Before the outbreak of the war which began a year later, the debt had been reduced more than eleven millions of pounds.

Ten days later, the House of Commons sat spell-bound, listening to the schemes of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for dealing with the finances of the country. The expression sounds like that bitterest of all sarcasm, which condemns by extravagant praise; but it is the universal testimony that it was the bare truth. Never has there been any other Chancellor of the Exchequer who could thus entrance the House with his arrays of figures; but the depths of philosophy from which Mr. Gladstone built up the foundations of his policy have rarely been fathomed by others, who have generally been content with a much more superficial structure. Although he spoke for five hours upon this occasion, the House followed him throughout with unabated interest. During the whole time, his command of words never once failed him; and each abstruse financial detail was clothed with the language which best fitted it for presentation in the most favorable guise to the minds of his listeners,



*Lobby of the House of Commons. The Speaker Entering the Hall,
with the Mace Borne Before Him.*

The most important point which was touched upon in this budget and the speech in which it was presented to the House, was the Income Tax. This duty, which had been proposed for the first time in the days of Pitt, to enable the Government to meet the expenses arising out of the Napoleonic wars, had come to be regarded as a necessity by the financiers, though there was much dissatisfaction with it outside of the small circle of those who were charged with the settlement of the national expenses. It was certain that its abolition would lead to increased prosperity, if only the period between the present and that future when the effects of its abolition should be clearly felt could be bridged; and Mr. Gladstone showed that this was not impossible. The tax was not to be done away with at once, but being continued for a period of two years, and after that gradually lessened, it would have disappeared by the beginning of 1860. In that year, the Chancellor argued, Parliament would find it possible to dispense with the Income Tax altogether. The trouble had heretofore been, not that there was no attempt made to deal with this duty; but that all the action which had been taken in connection with it had been such as to unsettle the public mind with reference to it; whatever was done now, he told them, must be bold and decisive.

An amendment affirming that the continuance of the Income Tax was unjust and impolitic was brought forward by Sir E. Bulwer-Lytton, and warmly supported by Mr. Disraeli, who seized the opportunity of making a personal attack upon Lord John Russell for having joined the Coalition Ministry, and thus deserting the Whig party, as the speaker claimed, for an alliance with the former followers of Peel. In that portion of his speech which related directly to the matter under consideration, the ex-Chancellor said that the proposals of his successor added to the burdens on land, while they lightened those which pressed upon particular classes; and with that happy faculty for using striking phrases which had always distinguished him, he added that he could see no difference, so far as the danger of a system of privileged classes was concerned, between a privileged noble and a privileged tobacconist. Mr. Cobden and Mr. Hume supported the amendment, while Mr. Caldwell and Mr. Lowe took part in this animated debate on the side of the Government. Nor was Russell silent; but in well chosen words showed the various inconsistencies of which Mr. Disraeli had been guilty, in his former

schemes and present attitude toward the Income Tax ; and closed with a panegyric upon the author of the present plan, saying that he was to be envied among English Finance Ministers. This is the second time that we find this ardent Whig speaking in warm praise of Mr. Gladstone, before the tribunal to which they both looked for approval of their political course.

The ministerial scheme for the continuance and partial extension of the Income Tax, to be followed by its gradual diminution and final abolition, was adopted by a considerable majority. That the prophecies of Mr. Gladstone regarding the condition in which the country would be in 1860 were not fulfilled, was due to no lack of foresight ; the cause of the increased expenditure was one which, depending as it did upon the action of other Governments, could not be foretold by human agency. The cloud which presaged the storm of the next year was not visible in 1852 to the naked eye.

It was at the beginning of 1853 that it first became certain that a European war was the only means of deciding between the claims of the Czar and the unwillingness of the Sultan to grant those claims. The trouble grew out of the desire of Russia to protect the interests of the Greek Church in the Holy Land ; but the original cause of the trouble was soon lost sight of. Various reasons were assigned for the part which England took in this conflict ; it was said by some that she was anxious to protect Turkey, solely to secure the safety of her Indian dominions ; it was said by others that seeing a contest between a strong and a weak country, she was prompted by chivalry and generosity to interfere in behalf of the weaker. Such were the extreme views of the reason for war ; as in all cases of the kind, neither one is altogether true, or wholly false ; but the real reason lies midway between, and partakes of both.

It was not until the middle of the year that actual hostilities began. It was still hoped, as late as October, that war might be averted, though the Czar's troops had taken possession of Moldavia and Wallachia three months before. At the beginning of October, however, the Sultan formally declared war. The popular voice in England was altogether against the Czar, who was looked upon as menacing the liberties of Europe by his efforts to override Turkey. The Ministry could not long delay decisive action upon the question of whether active support should be given to the Ottomans,

The question had doubtless been fully discussed at those mysterious meetings in Downing Street of which no minutes are ever kept; but there seems to have been no immediate announcement of policy until after the 12th of that month. At that date, Mr. Gladstone went to Manchester, to attend the unvailing of a statue to Sir Robert Peel. The country was in a state of great excitement, and meetings and conferences for and against the war were being held everywhere. Under such circumstances, the utterances of this eloquent member of the Administration were looked for with the keenest expectation.

His speech was unequivocal as to the views of the Government. Russia threatened to override all the other Powers, and prove a source of danger to the rest of the world; and the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire must be a blow to England, as well as to other countries. But the Government desired peace, if possible; he reminded them that the intrigue, delay and chicanery which too often attend negotiations are far less to be dreaded than war; and rebuked the inconsiderate impatience of those who looked only at the meretricious glory which a war might bring. To save the country from a calamity which would deprive the nation of subsistence and arrest the operations of industry, he said, the Ministry "have persevered in exercising that self-command and self-restraint, which impatience may mistake for indifference, feebleness, or cowardice, but which are truly the crowning greatness of a great people, and do not evince the want of readiness to vindicate, when the time comes, the honor of this country." He expressly stated that the Government was not engaged in maintaining the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire; and referring to the anomalies of the Eastern Empire, and the probabilities of its future, disclaimed all wish on the part of the British Government to do more than protect the interests of all by curbing the ambition of one. This disclaimer, coming full twenty-five years before the date of the Bulgarian atrocities, shows conclusively that some of his critics who have ventured statements regarding his attitude on the Eastern question have been mistaken in the premises drawn from his actions in 1853.

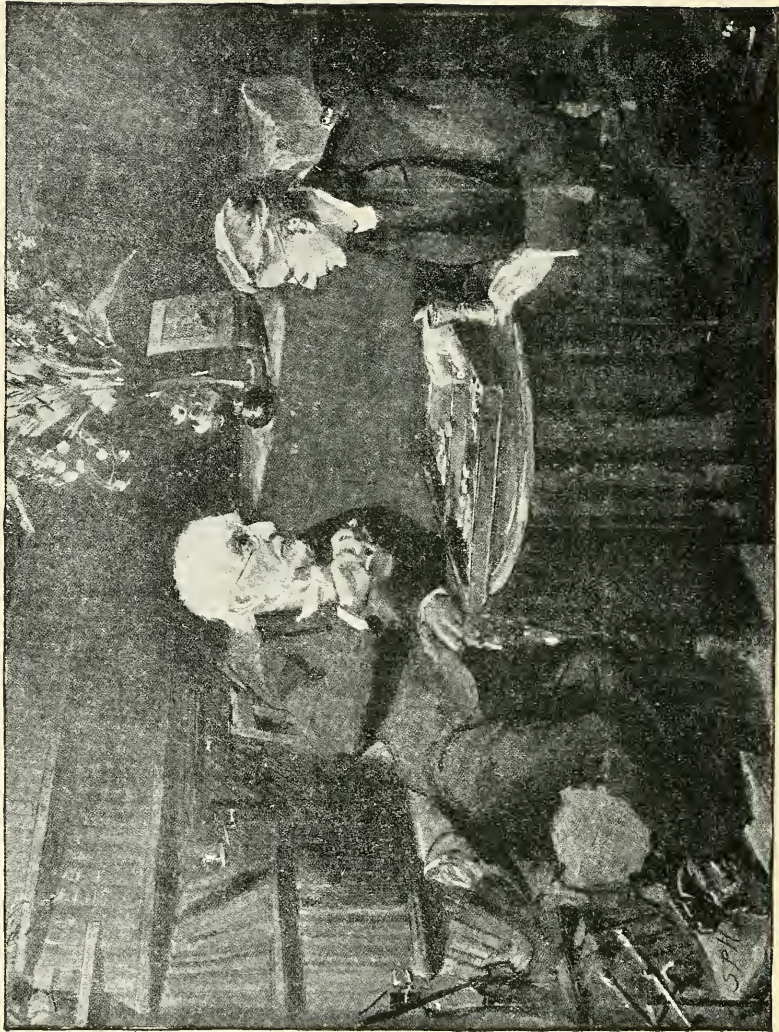
But the moderation of the Ministers was not met by a similar feeling on the part of the people. Their voice was still for war, and when, after many endeavors on the part of England and other powers to negotiate a peace, the British Government declared war against Russia, the popular satisfaction was unbounded.

Even after this decisive step had been taken, the Powers hesitated, and expressed their willingness to enter into an armistice at once, if the Czar showed any inclination to settle the matter peaceably. But Nicholas persisted in the course which he had marked out for himself, which nothing but death ended for him, and only defeat terminated for his successor and his people.

A considerable party in England were bitterly opposed to the war, and a deputation from the Peace Society actually went to St. Petersburg to interview the Czar. As Mr. Molesworth puts it, Nicholas "had already decided on the course he would pursue, and neither imperial nor Quaker remonstrances could turn him from it." Prominent among the advocates of peace was John Bright, who was so sternly opposed to war that, even after it had begun, and the country was beginning to feel the distress occasioned by it, he would have nothing to do with the measures intended to alleviate that distress. Mr. Gladstone was as earnestly desirous as any one of avoiding the horrors which hostilities would bring upon the country, but when once it was seen to be inevitable, he bent all his energies to do the best that he could under the circumstances. Perhaps Bright's course was the more consistent, especially for one reared among the non-combatant Quakers; but a statesman who would be perfectly consistent would often find himself in the wrong, unless he possessed omnipotence to mould the minds and direct the wills of men.

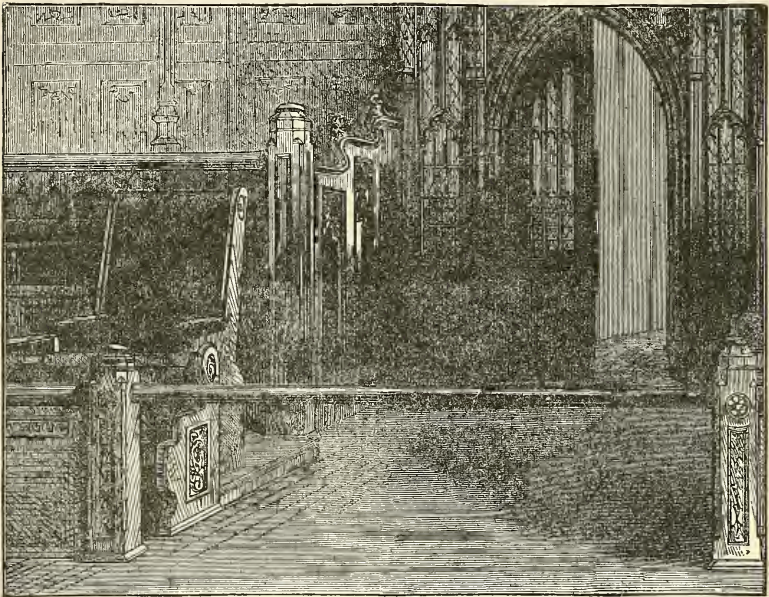
Lord Aberdeen had expressed his intention of resigning if a war became inevitable; but the whole trouble came on so gradually that he found his Government involved in the contest before there had been anything which should give warrant for that step. Much as Mr. Gladstone desired to prevent war, if possible, even he was forced to see, with his chief, that the will of the people must be obeyed. It was not the Queen, it was not the Ministry, it was not the House of Lords or of Commons, that declared war against Russia in 1853; they were but the means by which the people of Great Britain made their protest against the overwhelming power of the Czar being further extended.

War had been declared, and the Ministry had to make the best of it. The chief burden fell upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who saw the schemes so carefully prepared for the reduction of taxation swept away at one breath. The surplus which was to have been a valuable aid in reducing the Income Tax must be diverted from that use, and applied to warlike pur-



MR. GLADSTONE PLAYING BACKGAMMON WITH HIS SON, REV. STEPHEN GLADSTONE

poses ; the Income Tax, the Malt Tax, and the Spirit Duties, must all be increased, with no prospect of their reduction for years to come. But with a courage rarely manifested by Finance Ministers in time of war, when the resources of the country are always crippled, and taxes are harder than ever to pay, he proposed to pay for the war out of the current revenue, provided that not more than ten millions sterling would be required, in addition to the usual expenditure. Taxes would of course be increased, but at the close of the war the country would be free to resume the course of prosperity which had been interrupted



Bar of the House.

by it, clear of debt, so often a long enduring bitter after-taste of the glory that may have been acquired.

Mr. Disraeli opposed this plan, which the Prince-Consort characterized as "manly, statesmanlike, and honest." The Tory was opposed to the increase of taxes, but would rather advocate borrowing, by which means, he argued, the burden of the war would fall less heavily upon the people, the expense being paid at longer intervals. But his course, which ministers have too often pursued because it is the most likely to secure their popularity, was not approved by the country at large. The people

saw the wisdom of Gladstone's plan, and it was everywhere endorsed. What was of more immediate importance, as affording him the opportunity of putting the plan into practice, the House of Commons approved it by a large majority.

But before the division took place, there were some bitter taunts from Mr. Disraeli; and his language was such on one occasion that he was reminded that no criticism should be pronounced upon the ministerial policy unless he were prepared to propose a vote of no confidence. This he declined to do, but asserted that, while he should not vote against the necessary appropriations, being bound to support Her Majesty in all just and necessary wars, he was not prepared to admit that this was a necessary war. Had the Cabinet been united, he claimed, it would not have been forced upon them; but it was a Coalition Ministry, and that act detracted from its strength at such critical moments. To this speech Mr. Gladstone replied. The conclusion of Mr. Disraeli's argument he denounced as illogical and recreant; and showed that the reasons which he gave for not proposing a vote of no confidence (the lack of unity of opinion regarding the war, which he alleged was the case among the Ministers), was the very reason why he should have taken that course. The remainder of his speech was a vindication of his policy, and an appeal to be sustained.

Early in May we find him again urging the necessity of paying the expenses of the war out of the current revenue, and denouncing that attempt to conciliate the people, which Mr. Disraeli had made by promising the abolition of taxes without having made any provision for fulfilling his word. He rehearsed the difficulties through which the Napoleonic wars had been carried on, and recalled to their minds how enormous were the duties which were imposed by Pitt, and how cheerfully the burden was borne; he reminded them that even the war had not interrupted the prosperity of the country to any considerable extent, as the constant increase of the imports showed; and explained his plans with a minuteness which need not here be imitated. The speech took the chiefs of the Opposition by surprise, accustomed as they were to Mr. Gladstone's powers; and the division showed an unusually large majority for the Ministry.

A few days later, Mr. Disraeli made yet another effort to arouse the feeling of the House against Mr. Gladstone's administration of the finances. Inaccurate and deceptive statements,

he said, had been made in successive budgets, fallacious estimates given of the cost of the war, and delusive announcements made regarding the aids that would be required to meet the growing charges upon the revenue. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was boldly accused of incompetence, not only in one instance,



Lord Aberdeen.

but in many. Mr. Gladstone replied to each of these charges in turn, his speech followed closely by those who were in sympathy with him; and on the division the majority for the Ministry caused the collapse of all efforts to oppose the budget.

Mr. Disraeli had not yet given up his opposition to the government, however, but toward the end of July again severely attacked the policy of the Ministry. Lord John Russell had moved a vote of credit of three million sterling for the expenses of the war, and this became, by the opposition of Mr. Disraeli, a vote of confidence. A great debate was confidently expected, but the courage of the Opposition gave way as the time approached, and they dared not imperil the existence of the Ministry at such a juncture. The amendment requesting Her Majesty not to prorogue Parliament until the matter was settled was negatived without a division and Parliament was prorogued Aug. 12th.

There were some hopes of a peaceful settlement of the difficulty at the beginning of 1854; but though Austria and Prussia had promised their decided support, their defection when the time came for such action left matters as they were at first. The war had not yet begun in earnest, but by the middle of the year there was no longer any hope of peace. A combined army of English, French and Turks marched upon Sebastopol early in September, there to begin the siege so memorable in the history of the war.

But though the war continued as popular as ever, there were some symptoms that showed, at this very time, that the Ministry which had declared the war was beginning to lose its popularity. There were many reasons why such a Cabinet should lose its strength. In the first place, its very constitution forbade the hope of a long continuance in that harmony which is so necessary to a Government. In regard to this, there have been two statements made, which could scarcely be reconciled, were they both given without qualification; and it is difficult to decide which is the better authority. Mr. Martin, the author of the *Life of the Prince Consort*, a biography for which the Queen herself furnished many of the materials, and for the statements in which she is really responsible, the work having been prepared under her supervision, says positively that no cordial unanimity existed between the Peelite members of the cabinet and their colleagues; Mr. Gladstone denies that there was any discord among the Ministers; but, adds the right honorable gentleman, in a clause which serves to reconcile this denial with the affirmation of the other, "rifts there were without doubt in the imposing structure, but they were due entirely to individual views or pretensions, and in no way to sectional antagonism." When

we consider that Palmerston was in this Ministry, we can see very clearly that these personal differences of opinion might be made a serious matter.

Whatever was the true extent of these differences, the fact that there were such was speedily noised abroad, and perhaps much more made of the report than was warranted by the facts. At any rate, it was generally believed that there were serious disagreements among the Ministers, and this gave rise to a feeling of uncertainty in the House of Commons. The followers of the Government, says Mr. Martin, did not hesitate to attack the Prime Minister openly in the House; nor was he always supported as warmly by his colleagues as the absent Premier expects to be.

The defeat of the ministry was delayed for some time by the necessity of action upon a secondary matter connected with the conduct of the war. This was the management of the hospitals, which were grossly neglected by those in charge of them. An ample supply of medical and other stores had been sent out from England, but they lay rotting in the holds of the vessels which had carried them out, or stored away in places where they were not wanted. The men were simply dying of exhaustion, while provisions had been despatched in abundance. Under such circumstances, Miss Florence Nightingale, who had become well-known in London for her enlightened, skillful and self-denying benevolence, was induced to go out to take charge of the hospitals; an almost dictatorial authority, which could override all red-tapeism, being given her. Under her management, chaos was reduced to order, and the wounded and sick received the care of which they were so sorely in need.

Parliament was called together shortly before Christmas, and after a session lasting eleven days, adjourned for a month. But in this short session it accomplished more business than had ever been dispatched within a similar period, in the memory of living man. The most important measure brought forward was perhaps that providing for the enlistment of foreign soldiers. This provoked a keen debate upon the war and the Ministry's conduct of it. Mr. Bright maintained that the English were fighting in a hopeless cause and for a worthless ally; Mr. Disraeli announced that he should oppose the measure at every stage; and painted the situation at the Crimea in the darkest colors. The course of the Ministry was defended by Lord John Russell and

Lord Palmerston. Similar attacks were made in the House of Lords, and Lord Aberdeen had all he could do to answer them.

When Parliament met at the beginning of 1855, Mr. Roebuck gave formal notice that he should move for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the condition of the army before Sebastopol, and into the conduct of those departments of the Government whose duty it was to minister to the wants of the army. This was a direct challenge to the Government. Lord John Russell, convinced that the Ministry could not stand before such an attack, tendered his resignation at once. This was looked upon as partaking something of the nature of cowardice; he should have braved out the storm with them, thought his colleagues; and one of them, the Duke of Newcastle, offered to make himself the scapegoat for the Ministry; an offer which was not entirely without reason, as he was the Secretary of War. After much discussion, however, it was resolved that the remaining members of the cabinet should hold together as long as the House of Commons would permit. Mr. Roebuck's motion came up in due time, and the Minister of war, Mr. Herbert, attempted to stem the tide by the assertion that the existing evils had been greatly overrated, and that many improvements had already taken place. But the effect which this mild speech might possibly have had was totally lost when the reply to it was heard. This was a speech by Mr. Stafford, who told of the things that he had himself seen; and excepting from censure Miss Nightingale and her assistants, drew such a picture of suffering and neglect as could not be equalled by the imagination.

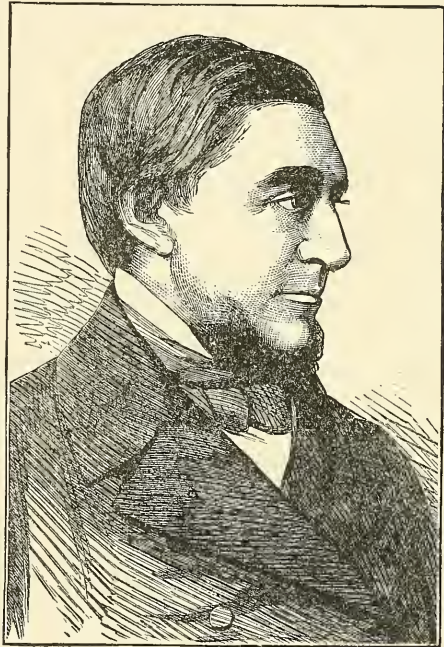
To this speech Mr. Gladstone was the one to reply. If the Opposition had expected the resignation of Lord John Russell would be followed by that of his colleagues, this address gave them distinctly to understand that they were mistaken. After giving some short history of the defection which had so recently taken place, not without courteous allusion to the encomium which Lord John had recently bestowed upon him, the speaker proceeded to characterize a Ministry which could resign under such circumstances, or without a direct intimation from the House of Commons. If by thus resigning they shrank from a judgment of the House upon their past acts, what sort of epitaph should be written over their remains? He himself would write it thus:

“Here lie the dishonored ashes of a Ministry which found England at peace and left it at war, which was content to enjoy

the emoluments of office and to wield the scepter of power so long as no man had the courage to question their existence. They saw the storm gathering over the country ; they heard the agonizing accounts which were almost daily received of the state of the sick and wounded in the East. These things did not move them. But so soon as the Honorable Member for Sheffield raised his hand to point the thunderbolt, they became conscience stricken with a sense of guilt, and, hoping to escape punishment, they ran away from duty.”

This rebuke, strangely at variance with the studied courtesy which custom obliged him to use in his direct reference to the

man who *had* run away from duty, was received with tumultuous cheers by a considerable portion of the House. When the excitement had subsided, Mr. Gladstone proceeded. He showed conclusively that there had been exaggerations as to the state of the army ; and that matters were improving, as Mr. Herbert had already told them. The adoption of Mr. Roebuck's motion would paralyze the Government, and throw things back into that very state of chaotic confusion from which they were just beginning to emerge. The speech was a powerful one, and



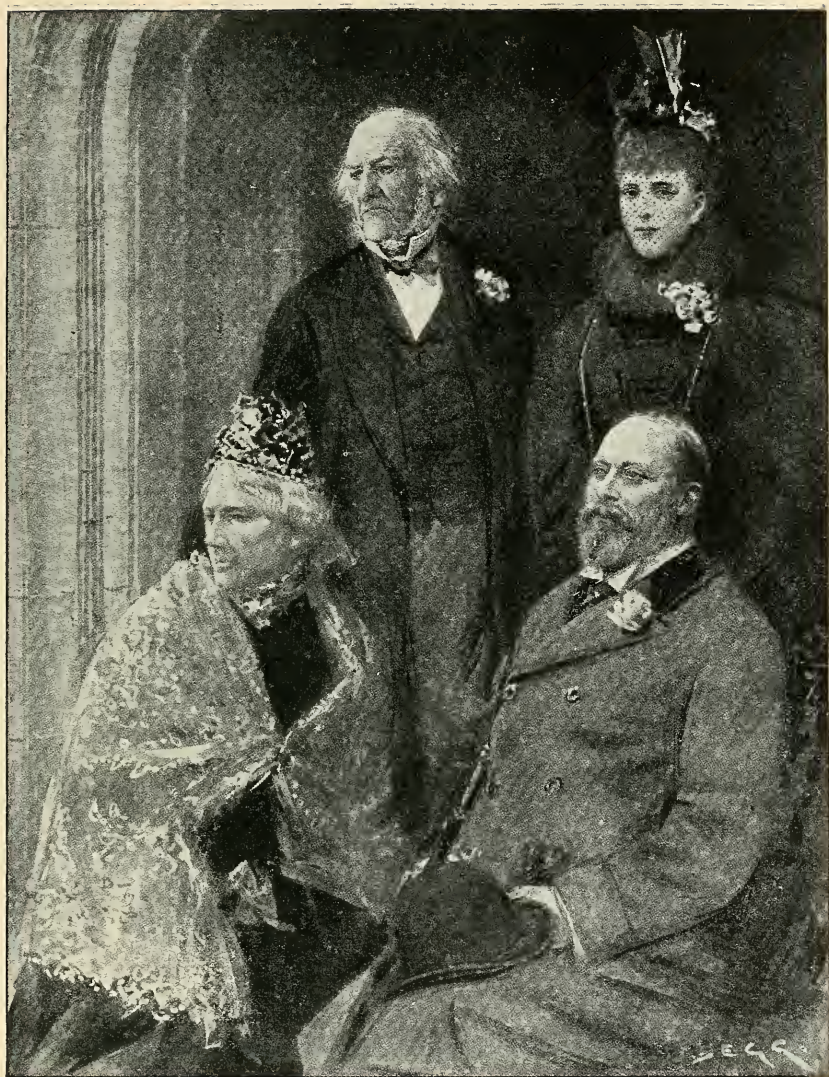
Sidney Herbert.

produced a telling effect upon the House ; but the advantage thus gained was far from being sufficient for the needs of the Ministry. Mr. Disraeli attacked the war policy of the Government and announced that he should be obliged to give his vote against “a deplorable administration ;” Lord John Russell attempted to justify his course in resigning, and Lord Palmerston made an energetic and brilliant defense of the Government ; but

the tide had set too strongly against the Coalition, and no eloquence could save it.

“Every one knows,” says Justin McCarthy, “what a scene usually takes place when a Ministry is defeated in the House of Commons—cheering again and again renewed, counter cheers of defiance, wild exultation, vehement indignation, a whole whirlpool of emotions seething in that little hall in St. Stephen’s.” Such is the ordinary scene, as described by one who has frequently been a participant; but this was decidedly extraordinary. When the result of the division was announced, says Molesworth, “the House seemed to be surprised and almost stunned by its own act; there was no cheering; but for a few moments a dead silence, which was followed by a burst of derisive laughter.” Never before had a Ministry fallen by so decisive a vote; the vote in favor of the motion was three hundred and five; against it, one hundred and forty-eight. In other words, what was virtually a vote of no confidence showed that the Ministers could not command the suffrage of one-third the members of the House.

The resignation of Lord Aberdeen and his colleagues was announced in the House of Commons Feb. 1st, 1855. Speculation had already been rife as to the next Prime Minister. The Queen thought to answer the question which was in all men’s minds by sending for Lord Derby, thus recognizing the principle that in time of war the Conservative party is naturally the leader of the national councils. Lord Derby at once undertook the task, and proceeded to form his cabinet. The one man who was essential to it was Lord Palmerston; in spite of the faults which he made no effort to conceal, and which made it so difficult for both superiors and subordinates to get along with him, he had some very essential powers of mind in these troublous times. He certainly knew his own mind, and saw his way clear before him; he possessed a fund of common sense, which was not to be baffled by those artificial beliefs that have grown up in the minds of the world; when he was Home Secretary, for instance, the Presbytery of Scotland had sent to ask him whether it would not be advisable, in view of the cholera which was threatened, to appoint a national fast day; Palmerston replied, with all the gravity which the occasion demanded, that the laws which Providence has ordained for the government of this world require us to avoid such diseases by rigid attention to the cleanliness of our



THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES VISITING
MR. AND MRS. GLADSTONE

habitations and their surroundings, and advised them that if the cities were not kept in proper sanitary condition, all the fasting and prayer would not suffice against the dreaded scourge; and there are many instances of such answers, which, while they are based on truth and good sense, were yet offensive to the persons to whom they were addressed, and often shocked the minds of others. Lord Palmerston was clear-sighted and far-sighted; but in that involuntary adjustment of the mental sight to the distant object which he was engaged in examining, his eye failed to take in those particulars which require a shorter range of vision. In ridding himself of prejudice, he had unconsciously, and perhaps unavoidably, done violence to those sympathetic faculties which enable us to judge the acts of others most equitably, by finding what their motives most probably were. Palmerston never allowed for any difference between himself and others; were he in a given position, such an act could only be dictated by such a motive; that motive therefore must be the one which actuated the man who had decided upon that course. His levity was not intended to be offensive to the men whom he answered; he could not understand how it could be so; and thus he kept on considering gravely those questions which were submitted to him, and answering them jocosely.

But in spite of all the offense that he had given, both by word and action, this man was so essential to the stability of a Conservative Ministry that Disraeli agreed to waive all claim to the leadership of the House of Commons, if that would induce the most eminent of Irish peers to cast in his lot with the Derby administration. While the answer of Lord Palmerston was still awaited, or perhaps at the same time that the offer had been made to him, Lord Derby tendered places in his cabinet to Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Herbert, the late Minister of War. These three members of the late Government intimated to Lord Derby that they could only extend to him an independent support. That nobleman accordingly waited upon her Majesty, and informed her of the result of his efforts.

“What is an independent support?” asked the Queen, to whom the phrase was probably new, and certainly seemed contradictory.

“Madam,” replied Derby, “an independent support is, like an independent Member of Parliament, one that cannot be depended upon.”

This explanation seems to have made the matter clear to the royal mind, and Derby was relieved from the task to which he proved unequal. In accordance with that custom which prescribes that the tender of this office should be made to members of the great parties in alternation, Lord John Russell was summoned to the Queen's assistance. But his resignation from a Ministry which was in imminent danger had brought discredit upon him in the eyes of his followers, and he was obliged to confess his inability. There was but one other in whose experience and ability there was sufficient confidence to warrant his being placed at the head of affairs, and the post of the First Lord of the Treasury was tendered to Viscount Palmerston.

On February 6th, the announcement was formally made that Lord Palmerston had formed his Ministry. In this Cabinet, most of the members of the Aberdeen Government were their own successors; the chief changes were the substitution of Palmerston's name for that of Lord Aberdeen, and of Lord Panmure's for the Duke of Newcastle. Mr. Gladstone retained the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer. The appointment of Lord Panmure, like the accession of Palmerston himself to power, argued a much more vigorous conduct of the war; for both of these men were ardent advocates of the struggle in the East, and replaced men who were desirous of peace though at great cost. Palmerston, indeed, with his accustomed independence of action, had spoken in favor of war, and had caused those journals whose utterances he largely controlled, to advocate it, even while the Ministry of which he was a member deprecated a resort to actual hostilities. This was essentially a War Ministry.

The Roebuck motion, which had caused the resignation of Lord Aberdeen, had been carried, as we have already recorded; and the committee of inquiry for which it called had been appointed. The new Ministry was thus placed in a situation of some difficulty at the very beginning of its existence. Lord Palmerston was of the opinion that the Government could not resist the investigation demanded by so large a majority of the House of Commons, and by the whole people as well; some of the members of his Cabinet were resolutely opposed to the appointment of a committee vested with such powers. The taking of this matter out of the hands of the Government was establishing a precedent which in the future, no matter what the circumstances, it would be impossible to set aside. Other objections

there were, but this was the one advanced by Mr. Gladstone, and the one which insists upon the constitutional principle involved with the most earnestness; the others concerning themselves mainly with the objections to the committee on less general grounds. Lord Palmerston thought it would be sufficient to change the personnel of the committee, and substitute members selected by the Government; Mr. Roebuck accepted the altered list, but the dissatisfied Ministers declined to do so. In consequence of this disagreement with the head of the Government, three of the ablest and most distinguished members of the Cabinet resigned their positions, and their places were at once filled by members of the political party to which the Premier belonged. Sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Herbert, were the retiring officials, and were succeeded in their respective positions by Sir Charles Wood, Sir Cornwall Lewis, and Lord John Russell. "The Ministry of All the Talents," as the Coalition Cabinet, whose downfall we have thus witnessed, was not untruly termed, had been succeeded by a Government in which the only talent recognized was that found within the boundaries of the Liberal party.

At the time of his appointment to this office, Lord John Russell was on his way to Vienna, as plenipotentiary of the British Government in a Conference of the Great Powers for the settlement of the trouble without further fighting. Shortly afterward, there occurred another event, which, with the beginning of negotiations at Vienna, made an early treaty of peace appear among the probabilities. This was the sudden death of the Czar, March 2, 1855. Nicholas had stated his intentions with regard to Turkey with a frankness almost phenomenal in the history of diplomacy; and had all but made direct proposals to England to divide that country between the British and Russian Empires. England refused; but he was not daunted, and proceeded to carry out his policy, which had only changed by the omission of England from the list of proposed beneficiaries, by attacking the Turks. His son and successor, Alexander III., was of a different temper; it was thought that he would be more ready to accede to proposals for peace, as it was well known that he was of a more liberal and pacific nature than his father. But "scratch a Russian and you'll find a Tartar," says the proverb; and when it was once aroused, there was as much of the Tartar in Alexander as there had been in Nicholas; and the war was prosecuted

under the son as vigorously as it had been under the father.

Nor was this hope the only one that failed. The Conference of Vienna broke up, without having accomplished its object, as Russia would not yield that one of the famous "Four Points" which required her to limit her naval force in the Black Sea. Austria finally made propositions which the representatives of England and France regarded as affording a prospect of the settlement of the case, and accepted for the Governments which they represented, subject, of course, to ratification at the hands of the supreme power in the State; but unfortunately for them, these propositions were a virtual surrender of the chief points for which England and France had been contending; the home authorities refused the ratification on which they had relied, and the plenipotentiaries themselves sunk very low in public opinion. The French Minister was obliged to resign the position which he had held for some years; and although the denouement was delayed for some time in the case of Russell, it was this which ultimately caused his resignation from Palmerston's Ministry.

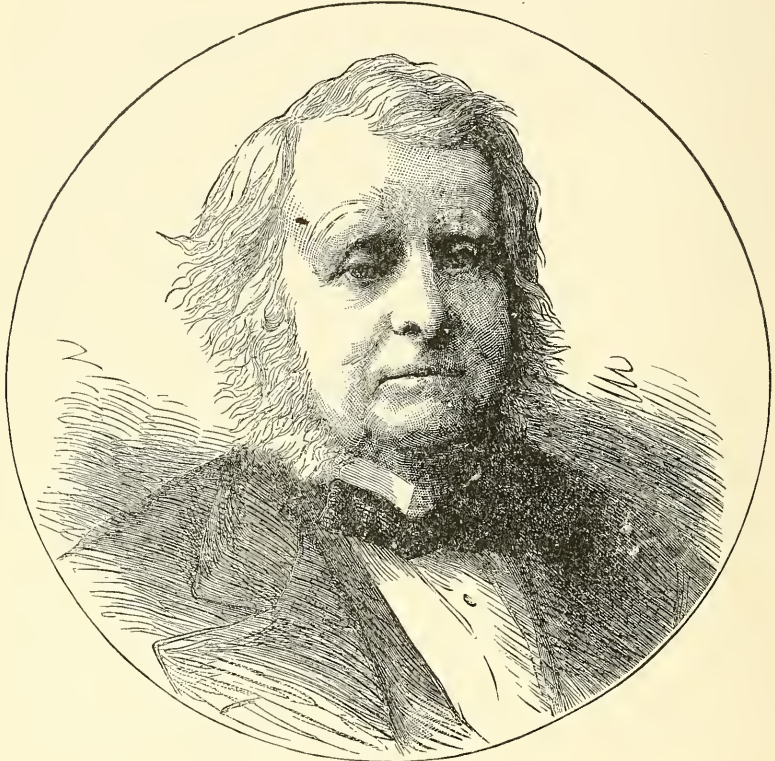
The failure of the Conference to restore peace was a great disappointment to the English people, who looked with much disfavor upon the fact that concessions had been made with this object. The war was still popular with the great majority of the people; and it was intolerable to think that England had offered peace, and had the offer refused. This feeling was reflected in the House of Commons, as was to be expected; and the Ministers were frequently attacked by members of both Houses, for the uncertain policy which they had adopted. Mr. Disraeli brought forward a motion condemning this fault, and supported it in a speech three hours long. A member of the Opposition had affirmed formally that the propositions of Russia were reasonable, and that some blame attached to the Government for refusing them; and Mr. Disraeli denounced, with his accustomed vigor, this combination of war and diplomacy, at the head of which was an ambassador distinguished for his inflammatory denunciations of Russia, and totally incompetent to negotiate a peace.

When Mr. Disraeli made one of his fierce attacks upon the ruling party, it had by this time become an established thing that Mr. Gladstone was to answer him; and the late Chancellor of the Exchequer engaged in the congenial task upon this occasion. The Four Points, which had sometime before been pro-

posed as the basis for negotiations, had been so distasteful to Russia that she had refused to consider them at all in August, 1854; but the events in the Crimea had been such that in the following December she had been brought to accept them for consideration. This proved that the expedition to the Crimea had not been wholly unsuccessful. When the Four Points came to be considered, he called their attention to the present state of affairs. Russia had acceded to the First and Second, which abolished the Russian Protectorate over the Principalities of Wallachia, Moldavia and Servia, and placed these provinces under a collective guarantee of the Powers, provided for the navigation of the Danube to be freed from obstacles at its mouth and regulated by the principles established by the Congress of Vienna. The Third Point was intended to put an end to the preponderance of Russia in the Black sea, and this was the one which that Power would not yield. The Fourth, which related to the subject which had nominally caused the war, the treatment of the believers in one form of religion by those who held to another, the speaker declared that Russia would grant at any time. Nor was this all; the great Northern nation had already acceded to a portion of the demands included in the Third Point, and had agreed that Turkey might have the power of opening and shutting the straits. The political purposes of the war had been completely gained, he said, although the adverse party had not been prostrated, and he felt that he would be incurring a fearful responsibility if he did not raise his voice to beseech the House to pause before they persevered in a war so bloody and so decimating, while there was a chance of returning to a condition of happy and honorable peace. If the war was continued solely for the sake of military success, "let the House look at this sentiment with the eye of reason, and it will appear immoral, inhuman and unchristian. If the war is continued in order to obtain military glory, we shall tempt the justice of Him in whose hands is the fate of armies, to launch upon us His wrath."

But although his eloquence aroused the House to admiration, it could do no more. The new Government was still too strong to be carried away on the tide of an Opposition speech; and Lord John Russell, who replied to Mr. Gladstone, was on the popular side. Russia was regarded as a dangerous enemy, whose schemes of aggrandizement must be checked while it was possible, and before there could be security for Turkey or Europe.

Mr. Gladstone's speech excited wide-spread comment, which was not by any means universally favorable. It was regarded as lukewarm in the English cause; the Prince-Consort stigmatized it as apt to give a wrong opinion as to the determination of the nation to support the Queen in the war, and render all chance of obtaining an honorable peace without still greater sacrifices of



J. A. Roebuck.

blood and treasure impossible, by giving new hopes and spirit to the enemy. Sir E. Bulwer-Lytton spoke on the subject in the House, and was vehemently cheered when he reproached Mr. Gladstone with desiring to make of no avail the blood which had been shed in this cause. Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell were cheered to the echo when they announced that the war would be vigorously prosecuted.

A vote of no confidence, based upon the conduct of the repre-

sentative of the Government in the Congress of Vienna, was proposed by Sir. E. Bulwer-Lytton. The day fixed for the consideration of this motion was July 16th; but on the 13th Lord John Russell again resigned his seat in a Cabinet whose position was challenged by the Opposition. The announcement of this, on the day fixed for the debate, caused the withdrawal of the motion. There was a debate of considerable interest upon this motion even after it had been withdrawn, the interest turning chiefly upon the personal references which were made to two great men of that day by two great men of our own. Mr. Disraeli attacked Lord Palmerston, whom he accused of machinations intended to get Lord John out of office; and declared that the Premier had addressed the House that very night in a tone and with accents which showed that if the honor and interests of England were much longer entrusted to him, the one would be tarnished and the other betrayed. Such was the language which might be used in the House of Commons, thirty years or more ago. Mr. Gladstone complained that Lord John had condemned propositions which were virtually the same with those which, as Minister Plenipotentiary, he had accepted at Vienna. Differing from Mr. Disraeli, who accused the Government of inconsistency in having at one time been disposed to accept these terms of peace, yet he blamed them for now abruptly closing the hope of an honorable peace.

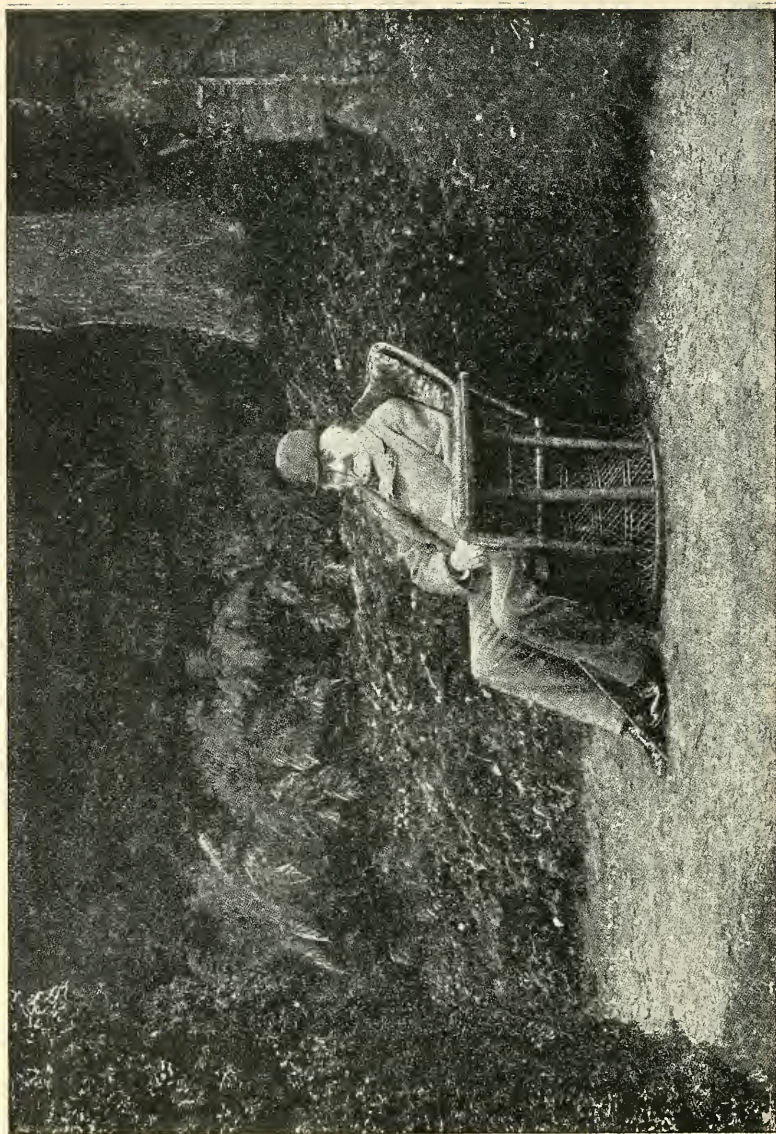
The committee which had been appointed upon Mr. Roebuck's motion reported about the middle of summer, and Mr. Roebuck made a motion which was virtually a vote of censure upon every member of the Aberdeen Cabinet. His speech, however, was regarded as an extreme one, and the proposition to postpone the matter for six months, really a condemnation of the speaker's position, was carried by an overwhelming majority of those members present.

The war debates continued throughout the brief remainder of the session. Mr. Gladstone frequently spoke to urge peace, saying Turkey was such an ally to England in this war as Anchises was to Æneas in the flight from Troy; and predicting the gradual falling off of other Powers, if England persisted in maintaining a war, the virtual advantages of which had been already gained.

But the peace for which he was pleading was about to come, though cannon, and not words, were the instruments by which it

was brought about. The "August City," Sebastopol, had been considered impregnable; and a city which will stand a siege of eleven months may well be considered as nearly so as fortresses can be made by human hands and natural advantages. The siege had begun in October, 1854; and had lasted, with little success on the part of the allied forces, until the following September. It had come to be regarded as the central point of interest; the war could not end until Sebastopol was taken; and the excitement was unbounded when it was known that the Malakoff and Redan had been taken by simultaneous attacks by the French and British. Following fast upon this announcement, came the news that the Russians had retreated; the war was over.

Negotiations for peace were immediately entered into; and a treaty was concluded at Paris in the following March.




THE LATEST PORTRAIT OF "THE GRAND OLD MAN"

CHAPTER VI.

PROGRESSING TOWARDS LIBERALISM.

Treaty Following the Crimean War—Peace Concluded at Paris—Agitation Concerning the Continental Press—National Education—Bill Providing for the Enlistment of Foreigners—Ill Feeling Between England and America—Criticism Upon the Government's Foreign Policy—Mr. Gladstone's Alliance with His Rival—Government Losing Strength in the House of Commons—Majority Against the Government—Attempt to Assassinate the Emperor of the French—Remarkable Peroration by Mr. Gladstone—Formation of a New Cabinet—Lord Derby at the Front—Financial Outlook Depressing.

HE treaty which closed the Crimean war was not a popular one; it was felt that England had not gained the success which ought to have been hers before she consented to negotiate for peace; on the other hand, the French soldiers were thought to have won all the honor which ought to have belonged to their allies across the channel. There was not one soldier in either army, however, who gained in this war the rank of a great general; the only one who could be said to have profited by the hostilities in point of military reputation was on the enemy's side—Gen. Todleben. At the same time, there was really no definite reason for carrying on the war any longer; and the hearty desire manifested by France for peace made it impossible for England to hold back, even if her Government had been so inclined. It was a singular circumstance, that the country which gained all the glory which was awarded by common consent to the Allies, was France, where the war had never been popular; while England, where the people were enthusiastically in favor of it, had but a small share in the successes which ultimately determined the result.

The French army was well equipped and well managed from the first; the English had just begun to be prepared for the campaign when it ended. Of twenty-two thousand Englishmen who died in the Crimea, eighteen thousand perished from disease, brought about by the want of proper food, clothing or shelter from the inclemency of the weather. Nor was the wisdom of go-

ing to war in the first place universally admitted. We have already had occasion to speak of the societies for the promotion of peace, which were organized early in the beginning of the trouble, when an appeal to arms had not yet been made by the Governments of the west of Europe; we have seen how strenuously Bright and other members of Parliament opposed going to war upon any pretext whatever; we have said that Lord Aberdeen never lost hope of a peaceful solution of the difficulty, until the declaration of war had actually been made; and although he had said that he would resign sooner than engage in war, he was carried along so insensibly that his resignation was not tendered until the Ministry of which he was the head had been severely condemned for their mismanagement of matters relating to the sustenance and care of the army. So great was this statesman's aversion to the war, which he averred would not produce any good results to England. The most that it would do, he claimed, would be to preserve the peace in the east of Europe for a quarter of a century. This utterance was looked upon at the time as the dictum of a man utterly at variance with those who were directing affairs, who would see only the dark side of the question; but the event proved that he had not spoken with too little confidence; three years before the expiration of the term of years assigned for the duration of the peace between Russia and Turkey, those countries were again at war with each other.

Mr. Gladstone seems to have disapproved of the war quite as much as his quondam chief. Before England had formally expressed her intention of taking part in the struggle, indeed, before it was at all probable that she would do so, he had made public an interpretation of the existing treaty between Russia and Turkey which recognized the right of Russia to punish Turkey for the violation of this agreement. The clause which he thus understood was the first line of the seventh article, in which the Sublime Porte agrees to protect the Christian religion and its churches. This was generally taken in connection with the remainder of the article, which dealt with the management of the new church at Constantinople; and the context, particularly the reference to the fourteenth article of the same treaty, appeared to prove that the promise in the first line was specific, and not general, as it was assumed by Mr. Gladstone to be. According to him, the promise of the Sultan to protect the Christian relig-

ion was a distinct engagement from those which follow in the same article, an agreement entered into with the sovereign of Russia, because he had been defeated by the Russian arms and obliged to accept the terms of peace which the Czar dictated to him; and this was duly made by treaty. If he broke any provision of this treaty, the nation with which it had been made was entitled to call him to account for such a violation, without the intervention of any other government, as none other had been concerned in the ratification of the original peace; and this was not excepted from the general sacredness of those provisions. We are bound to call the reader's attention to the fact that this was Mr. Gladstone's interpretation, not that generally accepted; so far as we can learn, he was alone in his understanding of the agreement, though others justified Russia on different grounds. The Czar himself did not rest his right to an appeal to arms upon this clause, but upon the fact that the fourteenth article, which gave him a virtual protectorate over the Christians in Asiatic Turkey, had been disregarded by the Porte.

We have quoted this interpretation of a treaty which was broken more than thirty years ago, and has been forgotten nearly as long, to justify Mr. Gladstone's course during the war. That course was not approved by Parliament; as we have already seen, the whole Aberdeen Ministry was condemned because it gave but a lukewarm support by its measures at home to an army which was already in the field. The members of that Cabinet had opposed the war from the first, acting in their corporate capacity; the few who approved of it were transferred to the next Ministry; but we can hardly wonder that a man who looked upon the war as one based upon a mistaken idea—upon indefensible interference with another nation's business—should hesitate about lending a cordial support to its prosecution.

March 31st, 1856, Lord Palmerston announced to the House of Commons that a treaty of peace had been concluded at Paris; a similar announcement was made in the House of Lords at the same time. The terms of the treaty became the subject of debate as soon as they were announced. An address to the Queen was at once moved in both Houses; the amendment proposed in the House of Commons was merely the substitution of the word "satisfaction" for the word "joy" at the conclusion of peace; but this trifling alteration was sufficient to bring the subject into the

arena of debate. After the speeches by the mover and seconder of this address, and that made to introduce this amendment, Mr. Gladstone addressed the House. It had been admitted that the peace was not a popular one, because the majority of Englishmen thought it had been concluded at a time when England might have won further successes; and Mr. Gladstone and his allies were not regarded with any favor by the House on account of their connection with the war. Such were the feelings of many of his listeners on this occasion.

The treaty was an honorable one, he said, because the objects of the war had been obtained. Those who had spoken against it had said that Great Britain, with the other Christian Powers, had become bound for the maintenance of Turkey, not only against foreign aggression, but as a Mohammedan State. In reply to this, Mr. Gladstone said that if he had so understood the words of the treaty, he would not support an address which expressed either joy or satisfaction at the conclusion of such a peace, but would look for the most emphatic word to express his condemnation of an agreement to support a set of institutions which Christendom must endeavor to reform if she could, though he was not sanguine as to the result of that effort. It would be the work and care of many generations, he said, to bring such an effort to a happy and prosperous conclusion; and he did not underrate the difficulties presented by the juxtaposition of a people professing the Mohammedan religion with a rising Christian population having adverse and conflicting interests. But there was another point to be considered in connection with this treaty. The encroachment of Russia upon Turkey, and the final absorption of the one by the other, would be an evil as great as any which could arise from the maintenance of Turkey as a Mohammedan state. Such a danger to the peace, liberties and privileges of all Europe, Great Britain was bound to resist by all the means in her power. It was a thing to be regretted that a more substantive existence had not been secured to the principalities, but this was not the fault of England or of France. The neutralization of the Black Sea he also condemned, as meaning nothing but a series of pitfalls in time of war; and he thought that recognized rules to regulate interference on behalf of the Christians should have been established. It was a great triumph that the Powers had agreed to submit international differences to arbitration, though in this very agreement there was much danger of diplo-

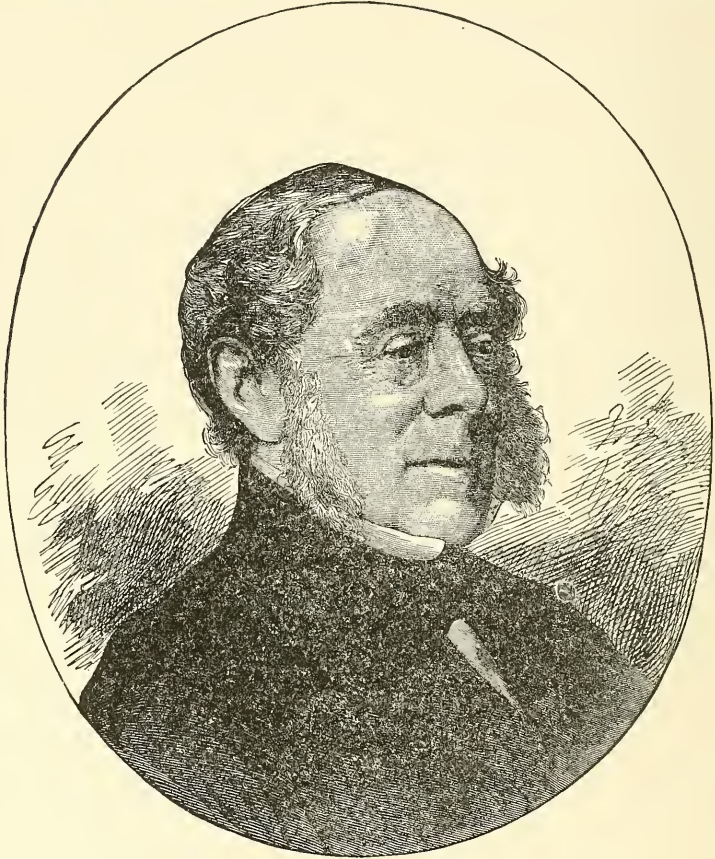
matic contention promoting the quarrels which it was intended to prevent. He argued that no country ought to submit claims for arbitration unless those claims were such as it would be willing to support by an appeal to arms; such a course might lead to the reduction of the standing armies which were so severe a tax upon all the countries of Europe; and the speaker rejoiced that the anticipation of this state of affairs had already led the two leading military nations to contemplate a reduction of their establishment; for Russia and France were about to set this bold example.

Although it was an innovation to entertain such subjects in Conferences of pacification, Mr. Gladstone expressed his satisfaction with the course which had been taken with regard to Naples; but he regretted that the records inscribed upon the protocols were not treaty engagements, and did not approximate that character. As the case stood, they were authoritative documents, which might be appealed to by those whose case they strengthened, but which were far from possessing the authority of a treaty with those who desired to disregard them. Confusion would inevitably arise from these semi-authoritative engagements, and infinite discussion be based upon their character.

The most important question which had been decided at this conference, regarding the nations which had not actually taken part in the war, was that relating to the Belgian press. The excess in which the journals of that country had indulged with impunity was represented as having been condemned by all the plenipotentiaries present, though Lord Clarendon, one of the British representatives, had told them that the scheme suggested would find no support or sympathy in England. The ambassadors of Prussia and Austria had said that the repression of the press was a European necessity; the French negotiator had said that legislation on the subject of the Belgian press was required; Count Orloff, on the part of Russia, declined to express any opinion, having no instructions from his Government. The speaker said that he hoped these statements were not declarations of policy, and that they would be regretted and forgotten, as having issued lightly from their mouths. He pointed out that the Belgian Constitution required a trial by jury in case of such offences; and that this provision could not be readily changed. He concluded by urging that this appeal, contemplated under the compulsion of foreign Powers, some of whom were remote in

situation, having for its object the limitation of the dearest rights and most cherished liberties of the gallant and high-spirited people to which it was addressed, was not a policy which tended to clear the political horizon, but rather to render it more gloomy.

Lord Palmerston closed the debate with a speech in which he



Lord Clarendon.

assured the House that the British Government would take no part in any interference with an independent nation with the view of dictating what steps she should take to gag the press. The amendment was withdrawn after this assurance from the Prime Minister, and the address was agreed upon. The Crimean War was formally at an end.

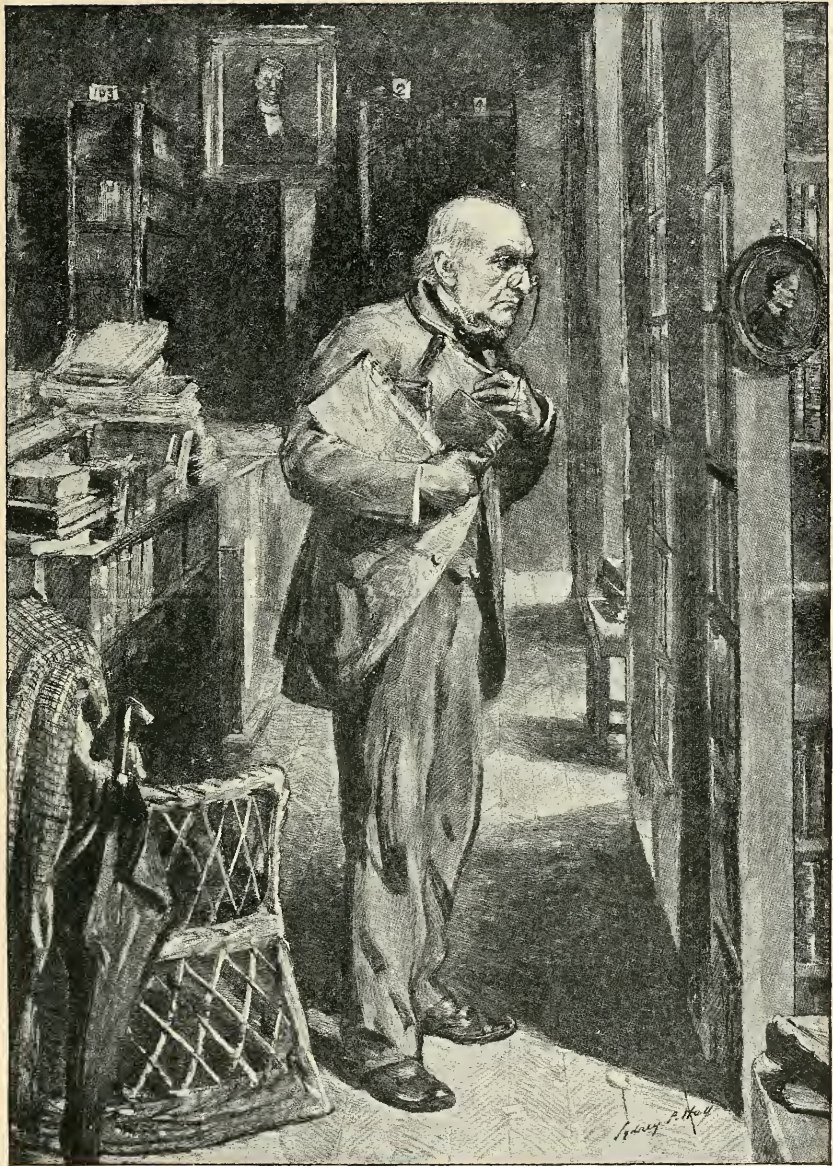
The subject of National Education was the next important topic brought before the House. Lord John Russell introduced a series of resolutions, providing that the funds available for public instruction should be applied in accordance with certain provisions, and laying down conditions for the compulsory education of children from nine to fifteen, who were employed at any kind of work. These resolutions were opposed by Mr. Gladstone, who asserted that the system of education which they tended to create was lacking in the most important element of moral influence upon the character of the pupil; and that the system of inspection proposed tended to create a central controlling power, involving secular instruction and endless religious controversy. A division upon the question, "That the chairman do now leave the chair;" was negatived by a majority of more than a hundred; and as this was virtually a condemnation of the measures proposed, the resolutions were not proceeded with. In the list of the divisions on this question, we find some strange groupings of names: Cockburn, Grey, Horsman, Palmerston, Villiers, and Wood were recorded as voting in the affirmative; while among those who were agreed to condemn the resolutions were Gladstone and Disraeli, with the Lord Robert Cecil who, in 1884, as the Marquis of Salisbury, succeeded the former as Premier.

Mr. Gladstone commented with some severity upon the budget which the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward in May, after a somewhat lengthy statement in February, which had also met with the disapproval of the late official, who had shown himself such a master of finance; but the propositions of the incumbent were finally agreed to. The Palmerston Government was still strong enough to resist the Opposition in such an important measure as the budget.

The English Parliament had in 1855 passed a bill providing for the enlistment of foreigners in the Crimean army, and the actions of some of the consuls in this country had produced considerable trouble between the two Governments. Nor was this all: the British ambassador himself was accused by the United States of subverting international law by secretly enlisting citizens of the United States in the British army. Lord Clarendon had insisted that the ambassador had not been guilty of any offense, but an eminent American lawyer had given an opinion directly the contrary of this. There was bad feeling on both sides, and the British Minister at Washington was actually dismissed.

While this feeling was at its height (June 30th) a motion was introduced which was really an attempt to censure the Government for the course which had been pursued. The debate was a long one, as there were several views which might be taken of the measure. Of the Opposition, there were some who, for mere sake of party advantage, were ready to support such an attempt; there were some, on both sets of benches, who thought that the United States had just reason to complain; and there were some who held this last view, and some who held the opposite, who would not join in any such vote, intended as it was to embarrass the Government.

Mr. Gladstone was one of those who, while he did not defend the conduct of the Minister at Washington, was not ready to weaken the hands of the Ministers when the party which he represented was not prepared to displace them. In his speech, he said that it appeared to him that there were two cardinal aims which ought to be kept in view; these were peace and a thoroughly cordial understanding with America for one, and the honor and fame of England for the other. But he was not satisfied with the existing state of things in regard to either of these, or with the conduct of the Government. A cordial understanding with America had not been preserved, and the honor of England had been compromised. He had had great difficulty in coming to a decision as to the vote which he should give upon this question; but could not meet the resolution with a direct negative. Explaining the position in which he stood, he proceeded to inquire into the true state of the case. He charged the British Government with practising concealment, and asserted that the United States Government had been deceived and misled. The law had knowingly been broken by the agents of the British Government; and the American Government had cause to complain, since an agency within the United States had been employed to give information and to tempt, by the offer of valuable considerations, citizens of the United States to go beyond their boundaries for the purpose of enlisting in the English army. The British ambassador had not only failed to inform the United States that this was being done, thus justifying the charge of concealment, but he had wilfully broken his engagement not to communicate, except to those who addressed themselves to him, the terms upon which they would be received into the army. Mr. Gladstone maintained that those four officials who had been punished had



MR. GLADSTONE IN HIS LIBRARY AT HAWARDEN

only been made scape-goats for the Government which had upheld their actions in the main. The question was a most remarkable illustration, he said, of the disorganized state of the great parties; such a disagreement upon any subject of foreign policy would have been impossible in the days when Lord John Russell and his allies occupied the Treasury Benches, and Sir Robert Peel sat opposite.

As we have already intimated, Mr. Gladstone, though he condemned the policy of the Government upon this question, was not ready to give his vote to an ineffectual attempt to overthrow that Government. There were many others who thought as he did, and the Ministry had a majority of nearly two hundred upon the division.

At the opening of the session of 1857, when the royal speech was read and the address came up for consideration, Mr. Disraeli made some severe strictures upon the Government, mainly in relation to its foreign policy. To these criticisms the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who obtained the floor immediately afterward to make a statement with relation to his financial measures, made not the slightest reply. The omission was a notable one, and Mr. Gladstone pointed it out. After expressing his surprise that such censure of the Ministry had been unanswered by the member of the Cabinet who had spoken, he proceeded to speak of the questions of foreign policy with which the Government had at that time to deal. There had been difficulties with China; there were actual hostilities with Persia; there was a dispute with regard to Central America; there were some points of the Treaty of Paris on which information was desirable. All these were points which the Government had had opportunity to consider, and on which there ought to be some explanation furnished to the House. Coming to the statement just made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone dealt at length with the old question of the Income Tax, which was again revived by the necessity of increasing the revenue to meet the expenses of the war. Again he protested against a loan designed to meet this necessity; and he was likewise opposed to new taxation. The Government had in 1853 pledged itself to abolish this tax in seven years; and that pledge, which had been given and received in good faith, ought not to be recalled, now that four years of the seven had passed. As far as his duty was concerned, he would give his effort and labor to fulfill those pledges, which he had not for-

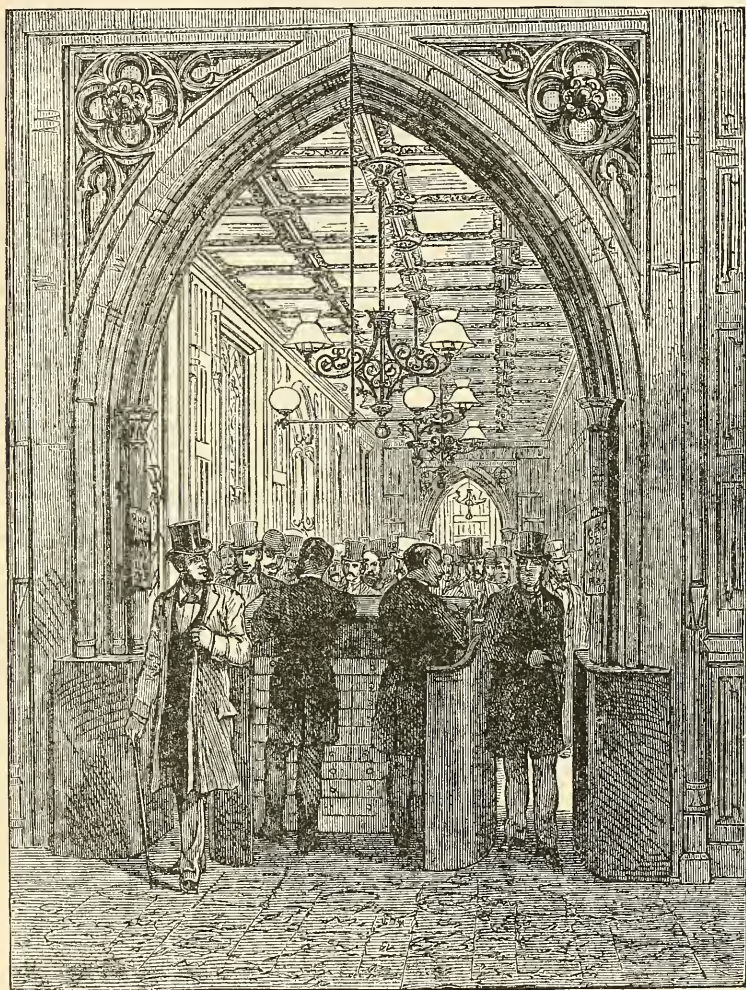
gotten, and was not likely to forget. He should always remember with gratitude, he said, the conduct of the House of Commons at the time when those measures were adopted, and the generosity which they had evinced; and he promised that that gratitude should be evinced by his efforts to secure the extinction of the Income Tax at the time fixed.

The budget was brought before the house Feb. 13th, in a speech which, though it did not have the same effect which Mr. Gladstone's addresses on the same subject had had for the House, and did not prove as entertaining as Mr. Disraeli's had been upon a similar occasion, was yet superior to the general run of budget speeches. The plan proposed was one of considerable merit, being clearly stated and ably justified. But it had the one great disadvantage of being a total innovation upon the plan which had been established by this Parliament in previous sessions, based upon the financial measures inaugurated by Sir Robert Peel, which Mr. Gladstone, while holding this office, had naturally carried out, and now defended. Nor was there any startling merit about this plan, to compensate for the disadvantage of its being so totally different from the measures which had been approved and carried out. But the part of the plan which Mr. Gladstone most severely condemned, was the increase in the tax upon tea and sugar. He stigmatized the proposition of the Chancellor as a plan to remit the taxes which bore heavily upon the wealthy, and make up the deficiency thus occasioned by duties upon those articles which were used in the family of every laborer in the country. He added that he should oppose this policy at every stage of its progress before the House.

In the division which took place upon this question, we find Mr. Gladstone again side by side with Mr. Disraeli. But the alliance of the two rivals was not sufficient to defeat the Government in its financial schemes, and the amendment to the budget which was the immediate cause of this speech was lost by a majority of eighty votes.

A few weeks later, the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced an amended scale for the tea duty; and, true to his promise, Mr. Gladstone opposed the measure. In the course of the speech which he made at this time, he told the Ministry that if he wished to advocate an extended and organic reform in the parliamentary representation, he could not desire a better case than the one which the Government's financial policy had furnish-

ed him. The Chancellor of the Exchequer professed his inability to prepare a scheme upon the principles recommended by Mr. Gladstone, and the division proved that he had no need to do so, the Government being supported by a majority of fifty-two.



Division Barrier and Lobby of the House of Commons. Taking a Division.

In the discussion which followed the second reading of the Income Tax Bill, Mr. Gladstone again drew attention to the great

expenditure of the revenue, and charged that the foreign policy of the Government was not unconnected with the excessive taxation and high expenditure of the country ; in a subsequent speech, he called attention to the enormous increase in the military estimates. In this latter case, however, he did not press a division, and the proposals of the Government on the Naval Estimate passed the House.

We find him in the minority in the division on the Divorce Bill which passed the House this session ; contending gallantly, though vainly, for the equality of woman with man in all the rights pertaining to marriage, and dealing with the question on social, moral and legal grounds.

The Government was gradually losing strength in the House, though it was still popular in the country ; the next important debate was one that showed its weakness. There had been considerable trouble with China regarding the opium trade, in which the British were charged with conniving at smuggling. The crew of a lorcha which had been licensed to carry the British flag had been seized, in the harbor of Canton, by Chinese authorities ; it was said by the Opposition that the license had expired, and that the *Arrow* was in no sense a British vessel ; it was said by the Government that the Chinese mandarin who made the seizure actually caused the British flag to be hauled down from the mast, and replaced by the Chinese ensign. A motion condemning the action of the Government in reference to this affair was introduced into the House of Lords, where it was defeated by a majority of thirty-six ; a similar motion was brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Cobden. The debate lasted four nights, and almost every member of the House who was distinguished as an orator expressed an opinion upon the side which he supported, the discussion thus attaining an unusually high level of parliamentary oratory.

Mr. Gladstone was among the last who spoke, and thus had the advantage of summing up and answering the arguments of his adversaries. He denied that the British Government had anything to complain of in the treatment which had been received from the Chinese, which had been strictly in accordance with the engagements entered into in the treaty of 1842. He called attention to the number of times that British subjects had offended against the provisions of this treaty and their conduct been condoned by the Chinese Government, he defended Sir

James Graham, who had been attacked by Sir George Grey and ridiculed for his reference to Christian principles as the basis of the action of the Government. He said that since this appeal to Christian principles was thus forbidden, he would appeal to something older than Christianity; broader, since it was where Christianity is not; to that which underlies Christianity, for Christianity appeals to it—the justice which binds man to man. It was this which must regulate the intercourse between Governments, and he denied that it had been the principle upon which the British Ministry had been guided in this affair, as well as others in which they had had to deal with the Chinese.

The position of the Government was stated by Lord Palmerston, though he had the disadvantage of speaking at a time of the night when the members were tired out; notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, however, he was immediately followed by Mr. Disraeli, who accepted the construction which had been put upon the motion, that it was a vote of censure upon the Government; and replying to Palmerston's alarm over a suggested combination, bade him appeal to the country if he thought himself the victim of a political conspiracy.

Mr. Cobden closed the debate in a brief speech, and at two o'clock in the morning, on the fourth night of the debate, the division was taken. It showed a majority of sixteen against the Government. Lord Palmerston, when this result was announced, stated that although the usual course under such circumstances would be to resign, he did not believe that the present Ministry was to be held to that rule. He therefore decided to dissolve Parliament, and appeal to the country.

As had been anticipated, the Government received a considerable accession of strength at the general election which ensued. Liberals and Peelites suffered considerably, Cobden and Bright being prominent members of the former party who failed of election. Mr. Gladstone, however, was again returned by the University, this time without opposition. It should be here mentioned that although the Peelite party was a small one, the ability of its members was great, and it therefore commanded a greater degree of respect than has been the portion of most organizations of similar numerical strength, and possessed an influence proportioned to this moral standing.

Parliament met for a short session before Christmas, when an important financial measure came up for consideration. The sus-

pension of several banks in the United States had created a monetary panic, and the directors of the Bank of England, desiring to increase their issue of notes to meet the demand thus created, asked authority to do so. To grant this permission, the Government was obliged to ask for a suspension of the Bank Charter Act of 1844, and brought a Bill of Indemnity before the House for that purpose. Mr. Gladstone did not oppose the bill, but argued that it would be wiser to investigate the causes of the late panic, and how far they were connected with the state of banking. The effect of referring a heap of subjects to an overburdened committee would be to postpone legislation, and obstruct inquiry into the causes of the recent panic and the present embarrassment. When the bill came up for the third reading, Mr. Gladstone reiterated these arguments, and showed what evils arose from the confusion prevailing between the functions of banking and currency. The bill passed the House, an amendment proposed by Mr. Disraeli being rejected by a considerable majority.

When the House met after the Christmas recess, there was considerable excitement prevailing over the attempt to assassinate the Emperor of the French which had recently been made by Orsini. There was a good deal of sympathy existing in England for the proposed victim, but this was not understood by the French, who charged that England afforded an asylum for conspirators against the peace and welfare of other states. Foreign refugees, they claimed, were allowed to concoct and mature plots to be carried into execution elsewhere. This was not an accusation brought merely by agitators and irresponsible journals, but gravely preferred by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, though in such a modified form as diplomacy permits. He urged upon the Premier the necessity of legislation on this subject; and at the beginning of the session of 1858 Lord Palmerston introduced his Conspiracy to Murder Bill. The first reading was carried by an immense majority; but by the time that it came before the House again, the impression had obtained that the Ministers were simply puppets in the hands of Napoleon III. Mr. Gibson accordingly moved an amendment inquiring why the dispatch of the French Minister had not been answered. The statement that England was a lair of savage beasts and a laboratory of assassins was quoted as the utterance of a prominent French orator; it was asserted that the bill was introduced at the dictation of a foreign government; and Lord Palmerston

was accused, by a quotation from the *Times* which was cited with approval by the speaker, of being capable of making any sacrifice of principle or interest to secure the good-will of a foreign power which he had made up his mind to court. But the most powerful speech that was made in this connection, and the one of most enduring interest, as taking a broad and statesmanlike view of the condition of the time, was that of Mr. Gladstone.

Lord Palmerston had stated that the dispatch referred to in the amendment had been answered verbally; but Mr. Gladstone pointed out that this was the weakest kind of an answer; of all explanations which could be offered to the House, this was the most unsatisfactory. The French Minister's dispatch should have been answered by stating the law already existing in England on the subject. In place of this reply, the Houses of Parliament were asked to answer by passing the Bill which had been proposed by the Premier. Mr. Gladstone's peroration is a remarkable commentary upon the English Government and its measures of repression thirty years later:

“If there is any feeling in this House for the honor of England, don't let us be led away by some vague statement as to the necessity of reforming the criminal law. Let us insist upon the necessity of vindicating that law. As far as justice requires, let us have the existing law vindicated, and then let us proceed to amend it if it be found necessary. But do not let us allow it to lie under a cloud of accusations of which we are convinced that it is totally innocent. These times are grave for liberty. We live in the nineteenth century; we talk of progress; we believe that we are advancing; but can any man of observation who has watched the events of the last few years in Europe have failed to perceive that there is a movement indeed, but that it is a downward and backward movement? There are a few spots in which institutions that claim our sympathy still exist and flourish. They are secondary places—nay, they are almost the holes and corners of Europe so far as mere material greatness is concerned, although their moral greatness will, I trust, insure them long prosperity and happiness. But in these times more than ever does responsibility center upon the institutions of England; and if it does center upon England, upon her principles, upon her laws, and upon her governors, then I say that a measure passed by this House of Commons, the chief hope of freedom, which attempts to establish a moral complicity between us and

those who seek safety in repressive measures will be a blow and discouragement to that sacred cause in every country of the world."

After a number of speeches, chief among which was one in which Mr. Disraeli called the attention of the debaters to the fact that the real question before the House was not diplomatic or political, but one between the House and the Ministers of the Crown, Lord Palmerston rose to reply. He deprecated the departures which had been made from the topic under consideration, particularly by Messrs. Gibson and Gladstone, who, he complained, had entered into an elaborate attack upon his conduct

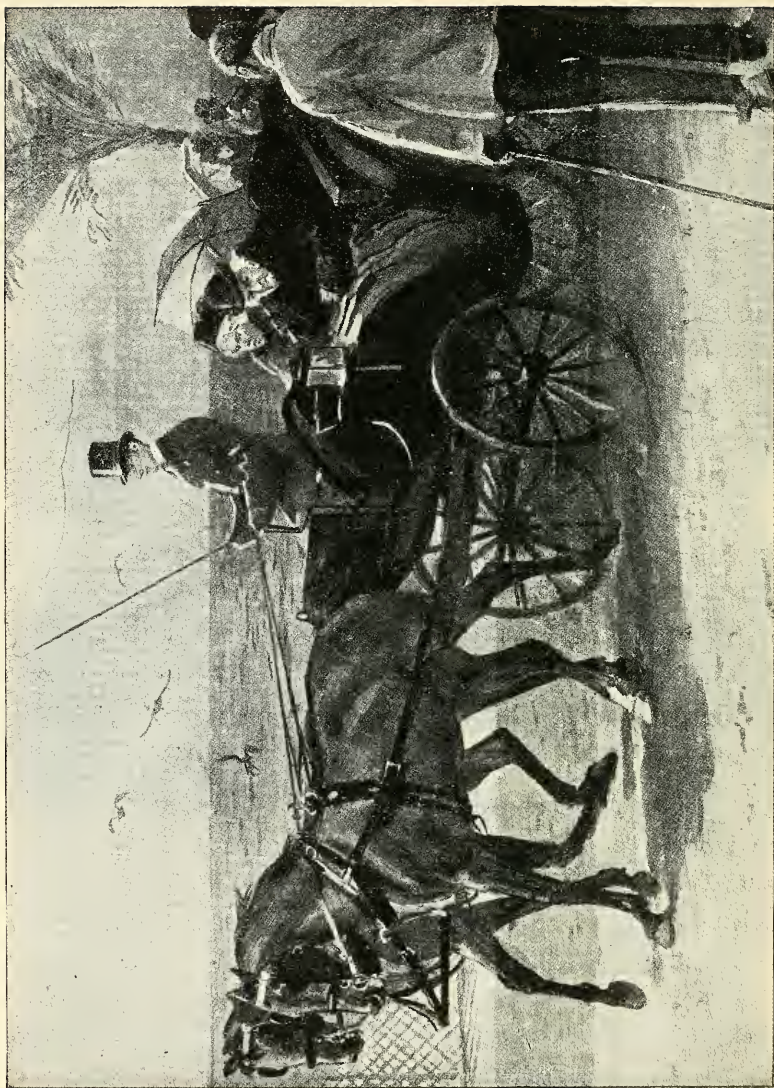
when he was Secretary for Foreign Affairs; his attack upon Mr. Gibson was a bitter, personal one, which was interrupted by strong expressions of disapproval from the House; and he addressed himself to a consideration of the point at issue.

His defense of the course of the Government did not justify it in the eyes of the House, however, for the division showed that the Ministry was in a minority of nineteen. Many of those who thus voted did not wish to overthrow the Government, and it is probable that if Palmerston had asked for a



Rt. Hon. T. Milner Gibson.

vote of confidence it would have been granted by a majority sufficient to justify him in retaining the reins of power; but his government had been defeated very recently by a majority which, although small, was such that the Opposition had expected the resignation of the Ministry to follow it; he had appealed to the country; and although he had then received the encouragement for which he had hoped, this fresh defeat, coming immediately after the reassembling of Parliament, determined his course. Ambitious of office he might be, but he had never shown an undue tenacity of it; and he accordingly resigned his post.



MR. GLADSTONE AT CANNES—A DRIVE ON THE BOULEVARD

Lord Derby was sent for by the Queen, and accepted the task imposed upon him of forming a Ministry. With a good deal of difficulty he at last succeeded. In this cabinet, Mr. Disraeli was again Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is significant of the gradual change in his opinions that at this late day, Mr. Gladstone was offered a post (that of Colonial Secretary) in this Conservative Government. We are not informed if he proposed to extend only an independent support, or if he positively and unhesitatingly declined the offer. Certainly he did not again take office under a Tory Minister.

The Houses adjourned, to give the new Premier an opportunity of forming his Cabinet; and reassembled March 1st. Lord Derby, in his first speech to the House of Lords, begged their forbearance for his failure to make a complete statement of his intended policy; the time had been too short to allow him to prepare such an important resume; there were two points which required immediate consideration, however; these were the changes to be effected in the system of government of India, and the question of parliamentary reform. The first of these had already been under consideration for some time, a bill for that purpose having been introduced into the House of Commons by Lord Palmerston. This, however, had not gone beyond its first reading; and it became necessary for the present Government to present a measure in place of that proposed by its predecessor. Mr. Disraeli, who had by this change of Ministry become the leader of the House of Commons, brought forward the measure, usually denominated India Bill No. 2, to distinguish it from that introduced by Lord John Russell on behalf of the Palmerston Ministry; but this bill, like its predecessor, never got beyond the first reading. A sort of compromise, however, was proposed by Lord John Russell, and gladly accepted by Mr. Disraeli, by which the question was dealt with by way of resolution. Before these resolutions could be considered, however, by the House, the Ministry was brought to the brink of dissolution. Lord Canning, the Governor-General of India, sent back a draft of a proclamation which he proposed to issue, announcing a scheme of confiscation which was certainly open to very grave objection, and which would probably have caused the flames of rebellion, so recently extinguished, to burst forth with renewed fury. Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Indian Board of Control, wrote a strongly worded protest against the policy thus

recommended. This should of course have been kept private until it reached its destination; but copies of it were sent to Lord Granville, the intimate friend of Lord Canning, and to John Bright, who was the most eminent advocate of a mild and generous policy toward the natives of India. The consequence was that the purport of Lord Canning's proclamation and Lord Ellenborough's strictures upon it, became known, and Lord Shaftesbury in the House of Lords, and Mr. Cardwell in the House of Commons, brought forward motions which were virtually votes of censure upon the Government. If these had been carried, there would of course have been a change of Ministry within a week of the time when Lord Derby had first addressed the House of Lords upon his accession to office; but Lord Ellenborough, who seems to have been the only one to blame in this indiscreet publicity given to unsettled questions, saved the Ministry by sacrificing himself; and made room for his successor.

Lord Shaftesbury's motion had been defeated by the Lords before this resignation was announced; but Mr. Cardwell's was still the subject of debate in the House of Commons. This discussion had extended over four nights when Lord Ellenborough's resignation was announced, and the motion was withdrawn by the member who had presented it. He was induced to do this by the requests of many members who had agreed to support it, but declined to do so after the matter had taken this turn. Disraeli, whose power of coining telling phrases would have made him a power in a state which was, like the government of the First Napoleon, "a despotism tempered by epigrams," has described this scene in such graphic language that, although it is a departure from the strict line of our subject, we cannot refrain from quoting:

"There is nothing like that last Friday night in the history of the House of Commons. We came down to the House expecting to divide at four o'clock in the morning; I myself probably expecting to deliver an address two hours after midnight; and I believe that, even with the consciousness of a good cause, that is no mean effort. Well, gentlemen, we were all assembled; our benches with their serried ranks seemed to rival those of our proud opponents; when suddenly there arose a wail of distress, but not from us. I can only liken the scene to the mutiny of the Bengal army. Regiment after regiment, corps after corps, general after general all acknowledged that they could not march

through Coventry. It was like a convulsion of nature rather than an ordinary transaction of human life. I can only liken it to one of those earthquakes which take place in Calabria and Peru. There was a rumbling murmur, a groan, a shriek, a sound of distant thunder. No one knew whether it came from the top or the bottom of the House. There was a rent, a fissure in the ground, and then a village disappeared, then a tall tower toppled down, and the whole of the Opposition Benches became one great dissolving view of anarchy."

According to Lord Derby, that which most peculiarly appertained to this passage, above wit, and clearness, and humor, was the undeniable truth; it was not exaggerated, he adds, for there was no exaggeration possible; and this is the testimony of an eye-witness.

There were many passages in the address from which this extract is taken which gave great offence at the time; they were strongly disputed by the late Ministry whose course was thus assailed, but still insisted upon by Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli.

After this interruption, which had so nearly proved fatal to the new Government, the House of Commons returned to the consideration of those resolutions upon which India Bill No. 3 was to be based. They provided that the government of India should be transferred from the Company to the Crown. A Secretary of State for India was to be appointed, who was to be assisted by a council of fifteen. These advisers, who were to hold office during good behavior, were to be nominated by different powers. Of the number, eight were to hold their appointments from the Crown, while the remainder were to be nominated by the board of directors the first time; afterward by the council itself. The various civil offices, the appointments to which had been under the direct control of the directors, were to be filled in future in accordance with the results of certain examinations, which were to be competitive. This is the beginning of that Civil Service Reform which has since been so largely adopted in England and which has excited so much controversy in America. It had been advocated as early as 1827, but the innovation upon English customs had been stoutly resisted; the Government was quite willing to try an experiment in India, however, which they were doubtful about inaugurating in England. The chief advocate of the system, at the time of which we write, was no less a political economist than John Stuart Mill.

This plan of government for India was earnestly opposed by Mr. Gladstone, who enunciated principles in connection with the management of Indian affairs by the English Parliament which he, long afterward, was brought to admit ought to be applied to the case of another country. The interests of the people of India had hitherto been protected by the Court of Directors; but by the provisions of this bill they were left at the mercy of the ignorance, or error, or indiscretion of the people and Parliament of England. There was no limitation to the power of the Executive through the treasury and army of India, by which wars might be commenced without the knowledge or consent of Parliament, and an accumulation of debt would be cast upon India.

This bill was finally withdrawn by Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Gladstone endeavored to prevent further ill-considered legislation upon this important subject by a resolution which he introduced June 7th. This resolution affirmed that it was expedient to create the Court of Directors of the East India Company, to administer the government of India in the name of the Queen, until the end of that session of Parliament. It was not possible, he said, during the session of Parliament to perfect a scheme of government which would be worthy to stand as the plan for ruling a people like that of India; the problem was one of the most formidable ones ever presented to any legislature or any nation, and the evils of delay were insignificant in comparison with those of crude and hasty legislation. After a long discussion, this was negatived by a considerable majority, and the Government formally introduced the India Bill No. 3.

Mr. Bright's idea of good government in India would be secured, he thought, by the constitution of five Presidencies of equal rank, among which there would be a generous rivalry for good, instead of utter stagnation; evil ambition would be checked, and there would be no governor so great that he could not be controlled. This, however, was not regarded as wholly practicable. Mr. Gladstone's amendment, which was proposed later on, met with more favor. It provided that the forces maintained out of the revenue of India should not be employed in any military operation outside of India, except for repelling invasion, or under some other urgent and sudden necessity, without the consent of Parliament for the purpose. This amendment was carried, and on the 8th of July the bill passed the House of Commons.

Another speech which Mr. Gladstone delivered during this session has great interest when taken in connection with his attitude and utterances on the same subject some years later. This was on the subject of the Danubian Principalities, the people of which were extremely anxious for the union which had been discussed at the Congress of Paris. The question had been submitted to the people themselves, and they had been found to be almost unanimously in favor of it. They asked something more than



Earl of Derby.

mere union, however ; it would be necessary, in order to guard against local jealousies, that they should have a prince or chief taken from a foreign family. This would secure peace between Turkey and Russia by interposing a boundary of neutral territory, or what would be practically neutral, between the two frontiers. The feeling in these Principalities was favorable to Turkey, because their relations with Turkey were founded upon a liberal basis, and there had thus far been no sensible collision of interests. If the union did not take place, the Principalities

would be a constant source of anxiety to Europe; nor could it have the slightest injurious effect upon the Ottoman Empire, which had never possessed the sovereignty of the Principalities. He said that it would have been far better to have said nothing about the union, than to hold out the hope of it, and then reverse the policy. The speech concluded with these words:

“I must really say that if it were our desire to embroil the East, to sow the seeds and create the elements of permanent difficulty and disunion, to aggravate every danger which threatens Turkey, and to prepare willing auxiliaries for Russia in her projects southwards, we could not attain those objects by any means better than that of abandoning our pledges and promises, and giving in to the Austrian policy.”

This speech, which was made in support of a motion to present an address to the Queen upon the subject, was answered by Mr. Disraeli, who said that he could not conceive a step which would be more embarrassing to the Government than the adoption of Mr. Gladstone's motion. Upon a division, the Government obtained a majority of nearly two hundred votes.

Many circumstances combined to make the financial outlook depressing, and Mr. Disraeli's supporters looked forward to his budget with not a little anxiety and trepidation. But when the statement was made, it obtained favor with the country generally; and what contributed largely to its success in the House, Mr. Gladstone's speech on the subject was very friendly to the schemes which were there proposed.

The next series of duties in which we find Mr. Gladstone engaged differ so widely from the Parliamentary routine which has been described in the present chapter, that its consideration may well be postponed to the next division of this biography.

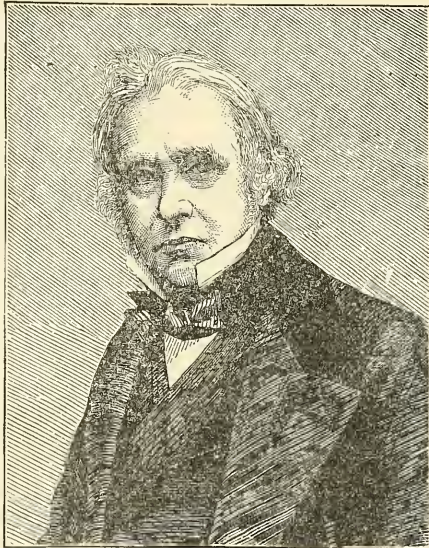
CHAPTER VII.

THE PALMERSTON MINISTRY.

Lord Macaulay—Eminent Men in Parliament—The Ionian Islands—Agitation in Greece—Parliamentary Reform—Foreign Relations of England—Mr. Bright's Return to Parliament—A Man Ahead of His Time—Controversy Over the Reform Bill—Mr. Gladstone's Speech on the Pending Question—Defeat of the Ministry—Appeal to the Country—Palmerston in Office—Fear of Invasion by France—Tax on Paper—Proceedings in the House of Lords—Liberals and Tories—Lord Russell Withdraws His Reform Bill—Cross Purposes in Parliament—Rivalry Among Opposing Factions.

THE Ministry which came into power at the beginning of the year 1858, was, from a literary point of view, a remarkable one; and one which would be almost if not quite impossible in America, where the necessity of achieving

name and place by his own exertions renders it less likely that a man can succeed in many directions. The Earl of Derby may become eminent in literature and politics with less exertion than is required for an Abraham Lincoln to gain admittance to the bar; it is for this reason that we find so many English statesmen and so few Americans excelling in other things than statecraft. It is true that all scholarly British statesmen do not reach the em-



Lord Macaulay.

inence in letters of Macaulay, who died about the period we have now reached in this history. But, on the other hand, Ma-

caulay, who figures with some prominence in the early stages of this narrative, in order to become great as an historian and essayist, was obliged to retire almost entirely from the strife for political honors.

At the head of the Government at this date was that brilliant, impulsive speaker, whose words were sometimes fiery eloquence, and sometimes grandiloquent nonsense; who was often carried away by the passions which, subdued, he might have used as efficient weapons against the evils of the cause which had aroused them; whose blunders often lost the victories which his headlong daring had almost won, so that Disraeli, his brilliant subordinate had already christened him "The Rupert of Debate," after the fiery Stuart; he was long eminent as a statesman, first as Lord Stanley, afterward becoming Earl of Derby, but had not at this time become known as a translator of the *Iliad*, which will more surely perpetuate his name and fame than any reputation which he ever acquired within the walls of Parliament.

That chief subordinate, and the leader of the House of Commons, was better known and more highly esteemed as a novelist than when he first entered Parliament; his reputation as a writer, indeed, grew with his rank as a statesman, and the novels which had been looked upon as the mere ebullitions of an eccentricity which he himself mistook for genius, were now ranked as the productions of a new school of fiction. The Right Honorable Benjamin Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons, was quite a different personage from that loud-looking youth whose first speech had so entertained the Commons.

Aside from Lord John Manners, who was in control of the Woods and Forests, and Lord Stanley, who became, on the death of his father, the fifteenth Earl of Derby, and attained some eminence in the arena of politics, there is but one other name in the list that is familiar to our ears; and he is less known to us in the world of politics than in the world of letters. Edward Lytton-Bulwer, born the same year as Disraeli, and consequently between four and five years older than Gladstone, had entered Parliament when barely twenty-one. It would have been long before he achieved eminence as an orator, for the few speeches which he made in the course of his parliamentary career were rather thoughtful and earnest, evincing a large and liberal view of national interests, than brilliant and "taking."

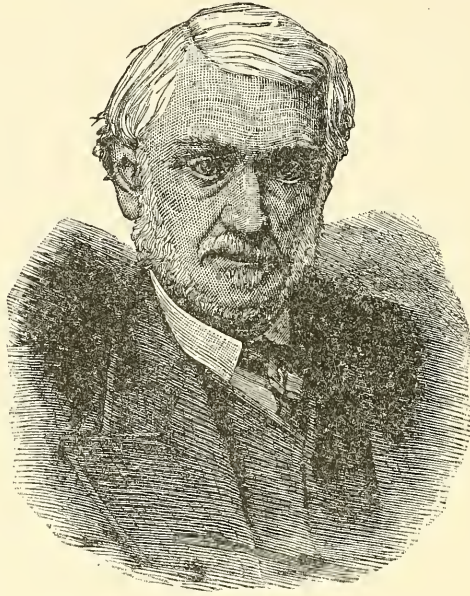
He began life as an extreme advocate of Reform measures ; and he was scarcely thirty when he published one of the most powerful political pamphlets of the century ; a form of support which was so grateful to Lord Melbourne that the author was at once offered a seat in the Cabinet. This, however, he declined ; but accepted the baronetcy which in 1838 was conferred for that and similar services to the party then in power. Succeeding in 1844 to the estates of his mother's family, he assumed her name in connection with that of his father, and became Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton. About the time that Gladstone finally left the Conservative party (if that expression can be used as indicating any definite period), Bulwer-Lytton took the opposite step, and left the Liberals for the Conservatives. He had not been in the Derby administration as it was originally formed ; but when Lord Ellenborough resigned the control of Indian affairs, Lord Stanley, who had been Colonial Secretary, was transferred to this position, and the brilliant novelist appointed to the place thus vacated. Perhaps it was natural that when the necessity arose for sending a special envoy to Greece, a man like Bulwer-Lytton should think of a representative who had already distinguished himself in literature by his studies of Homer ; and the Premier who was afterward to be known as the translator of the *Iliad* would be likely to see a fitness in the selection. The comments upon this appointment were not altogether favorable. "A writer of novels is leader of the House of Commons," said the scandalized politicians who did not pretend to scholarship ; "and he has another writer of novels at his side as Colonial Secretary ; worse than that, he is actually a playwright ; and between them they can think of nothing better than to send out a man to the Ionian Islands to listen to the tirades of Greek demagogues simply because he happens to be fond of reading Homer."

This reader of the blind old bard was Mr. Gladstone, who had already become well known as a scholar in this special department ; we have not hitherto traced his literary course, reserving that for another time, when our pages shall be free from the rush and whirl of political action.

The Ionian Islands had been erected in the year 1800 into the Republic of the Seven United Islands ; in 1815, they were placed under the Protectorate of Great Britain ; a few years later had come the assertion of the independence of Greece, finally ac-

knowledge by the Powers, and forced upon Turkey. For many years after the achievement of this condition, the Ionians had looked longingly upon the country to which they naturally belonged by race, tradition and geographical position; but they had no cause for formal complaint, and were not strong enough to assert themselves by force. They could only await the action of England.

That the sympathy of England was on the side of popular liberty was well understood and needed no formal proof. A weak power,



Lord John Manners.

or a feeble people struggling to be free, can always depend upon the active support of the masses of the people everywhere. For years the Ionians had been dissatisfied and earnestly striving to better their condition.

The popular constitution which had been given them about ten years before this time did not do away with this desire to be united to Greece; it only enabled the people to express their wish in a manner which would command more attention in England, because it was intensely respectable; the protest of a legislature is or may be worth listening to, while the wish of the people expressed by themselves directly, is not

to be regarded, lest it lead to revolution. And now press, legislature and people had but one voice, and with that were crying out for freedom.

Were they not free? asked the British Government. They had a constitution which guaranteed their rights, as the English had theirs; they had their Legislative Assembly of forty members, and a Senate of a round half dozen. What if they were presided over by an English Lord High Commissioner? His position was but an emblem of the watchful care which England kept over them. But the unreasonable Greeks were not satisfied. All this was very true: they had a constitution and a representative government, and the English authorities had made excellent roads, improved the harbors, established regular communication by steamships with the rest of the world—far greater conveniences than King Otho's subjects had; but still these unreasonable Greeks did not think themselves free so long as this Lord High Commissioner was also Commander-in-Chief of a considerable body of British troops garrisoned among them. And though they had a representative assembly, the Lord High Commissioner aforesaid had a very ugly trick of dissolving it whenever it declined to legislate as he wished it to do. Taking it all in all, they did not quite believe the Englishmen who said that the Ionian Islands enjoyed the blessings of liberty.

The more loudly an Ionian politician exclaimed against this order of things, the more pleasing he was to the people; and the more the people clamored for freedom, the angrier grew the English public at such ingratitude. There were but few men in public life in England who were not thoroughly disgusted with the unreasonable Greeks; and this feeling was shared by some eminent Frenchmen; notably by M. Edmond About, whose description of the excellent roads in these islands is so earnest that we may almost imagine that he wrote with tears in his eyes. Others there were, of broader sympathies, who saw how far the Greeks were right; and of this number were the Colonial Secretary and his newly chosen envoy.

Although Mr. Gladstone was simply dispatched upon a commission of inquiry, his appointment for that purpose was hailed by the Greeks as clear evidence that the English Government intended to abandon its Protectorate over the Islands. The English Government had no such intention; at least, it was not definitely understood what would be best; but just at this time two

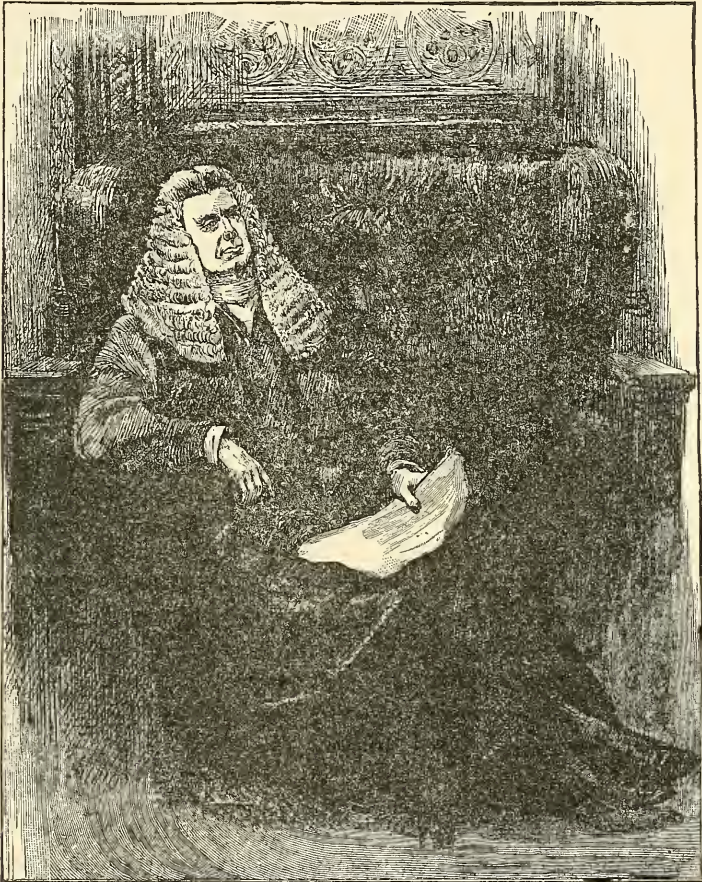
dispatches were published by the *News* which ought to have been kept private until acted upon, but which some enterprising reporter had got hold of. They were written by the Lord High Commissioner, and recommended that all the islands except Corfu should be abandoned to their own will. This excepted island was to be retained as a military post. A dispatch written by the Colonial Secretary about the same time seemed to point the same way, and Mr. Gladstone was received with all the effusiveness of welcome of which the people of a Southern race can show themselves possessed. He at once set to work to ascertain how far the clamor for separation from England and annexation to Greece was the voice of the people, and how far it was simply the loud-mouthed vociferations of blatant demagogues. He seems to have been speedily convinced that this popular movement was one worthy the respect of all liberty-loving men. After a number of weeks spent in the Islands, the matter was formally presented to the Ionian Parliament, in the form of a proposal to annex their republic to the kingdom of Greece. This obtained the assent of the representatives, and a petition to that effect was presented to Mr. Gladstone. In informing the English sovereign of the result of his mission, he stated that "the single and unanimous will of the Ionian people has been and is for their union with the kingdom of Greece." This short dispatch tells the whole story of his embassy and the accomplishment of the task set him. A couple of weeks afterward, he left for England; his official connection with the Ionian Islands was at an end.

Not so the influence which he had over their fortunes. The hopes which had been raised by his appointment were not to be readily dampened by his return; the Greeks continued to agitate more strenuously than ever, and they were listened to with more respect at the Colonial Office and in Parliament, since so eminent an Englishman had become impressed with the justice of their claims. It was some years before the final result of this mission was achieved; but when the Ionian Islands at last became a part of the kingdom of Greece, it was in no small measure due to the influence which Mr. Gladstone's opinion had upon the councils of his country.

Mr. Gladstone returned to England in February, 1859. The Derby Ministry had been in office scarcely a year. It was already beginning to show signs of weakness, of that inevitable

loss of power which sooner or later comes to every Government.

There were two important questions before the public mind at this juncture: Parliamentary Reform and the state of the foreign relations of England. The measure which had excited such enmity in the early thirties had become an insufficient measure for



Mr. Speaker.

the progressive champions of the people's rights; and a further extension of the suffrage was loudly demanded. Unable to struggle against the unmistakable expression of the popular will, the Government had pledged itself to bring in a Reform Bill; but this had rather excited than allayed the popular feeling.

It was hardly a time at which to bring up such a measure; for all Europe was trembling at the innovations which were being introduced, and a country like England would seem to have desired rather a continuance of the old state of things at this period of revolution. Under the auspices of Cavour, who had spent some time in England, and was a warm admirer of the English system of Government, the petty state of which he was a subject had been modeled after the great empire, and Sardinia had, in consequence, attained a rank as a constitutional monarchy for which she would otherwise have striven in vain. This country had first been heard of in European politics, as a state which was at all worthy of consideration, during the Crimean War, when it became the ally of England and France. Savoy had grown into Sardinia, Sardinia was soon to grow into Italy.

It is not probable that the Premier had any decided wish for Parliamentary Reform. He had thrown himself, heart and soul, into the work when the subject was first brought to the serious attention of Parliament; but that had been nearly thirty years before this time, and age was beginning to cool the ardor of his nature. The chief advocate of a further extension of the suffrage had been Lord John Russell, who had brought forward such a bill in 1852, and supported it with all his powers only to have it fail. Disraeli was now eager for Reform, because he saw clearly enough that it was the only means by which the Conservatives could hope to retain power; the instant the Government should venture to oppose or disregard the popular wish, that instant their divided opponents would unite, and the union would be fatal to the foes of Reform.

But chief among those who advocated the passage of such a measure was that sturdy Quaker whose earnestness in the cause of the people has grown stronger and stronger as the years have gone by. John Bright had been out of Parliament for several years, on account of ill health, when in 1857 he was returned for Birmingham. In the first period of his parliamentary life, he had been one of the most ardent supporters of the Free Trade system; and he was perhaps the most widely known advocate of it; certainly there was no one else who permitted himself to be so completely absorbed by this measure. He was one of the delegates sent by the Society of Friends to the Czar, at the beginning of the Crimean War, to intercede for peace. This had been his last public act in this first period. His return to Parlia-

ment was signalized by his opposition to the Conspiracy Bill, which was the cause of Lord Palmerston's going out of office; he now threw himself with all his strength into this effort to secure a more universal suffrage, and never relaxed his endeavors until the attainment of that object, nearly twenty years after Lord Derby went out of office.

Bright's return to public life seemed almost like a resurrection, so fully had people been convinced that he would be heard no more. It was small wonder, then, that his audiences should be large and enthusiastic. His efforts were not wholly successful; though the popular outcry was loud, it was not universal; trying to arouse a Reform spirit in the North, Bright himself said, was "like flogging a dead horse." The upper and middle classes cared very little about the question, for their rights had been assured by the measure of 1832; it was mainly the laboring classes who were now dissatisfied; and many of the Conservatives were inclined to treat the demand as the mere outcry of professional agitators. Bright himself was generally regarded by parliamentarians as only an eloquent and respectable demagogue; and most of the Conservatives, and some of the Whigs, were inclined to look upon him as scarcely worthy of being taken into account. Perhaps the Conservative who had the highest opinion of him was no other than Mr. Disraeli, who saw that the Manchester orator must be taken into account as a genuine political power.

Mr. Bright was persuaded to formulate a bill, expressing his ideas on this momentous question of public policy; but as might have been expected, his views were not those of the Ministry. His enemies said it was such a measure as Jack Cade might have proposed, had that ancient agitator ever got so far as the subject of Parliamentary Reform; he had so few friends, as far as this bill was concerned, that it did not make much matter what they said. Certainly the bill had but few supporters, though it was so nearly like that which the party adopted later that we can only rate Bright as far ahead of his time.

Disraeli, who saw that he could not resist the tendency in that direction, had been studying the question of Reform, and was ready with a bill at the beginning of the session of 1859. It was essentially a Conservative measure, since it left things very nearly as it found them. The great need of the time was a law which would not only increase the number of voters, but would extend

the franchise to classes which were as yet without representation; but Disraeli's plan did not aim at this. It was said by one of the opposite party that it looked like a bill framed to increase the Conservative majority; and that was doubtless its intention. The chief change which was made was the extension of the franchise to persons who had property in the funds, bank stock, or stock in the East India Company, also to those who had a certain amount of money in savings-banks or received a pension from the Government, and to certain professional classes which had not hitherto been permitted a vote. "The working-classes cried out for the franchise, and Mr. Disraeli proposed to answer the cry by giving the vote to graduates of universities, medical practitioners and schoolmasters."

The bill passed the first reading by a party vote, procured by the unflagging efforts of the Whigs. But the bill was not a favorite with the Conservative party itself. The Home Secretary urged that no member of the Ministry would support such a bill, were it brought forward by Lord John Russell or Lord Palmerston; and he urged this in a letter in which he conveyed his resignation to the Premier. Mr. Henley, the President of the Board of Trade, followed the example of Mr. Walpole. When the bill which had thus won the contempt of its proposer's party friends came up for a second reading, it met with hard treatment at the hands of his foes. Lord John Russell moved an amendment to the effect that the proposed readjustment of the county franchise was unsatisfactory to the House, and that any bill which attempted to deal with this question ought to include a plan for the greater extension of the suffrage in cities and boroughs. The experienced statesman supported this amendment with an able speech, expressing in touching language his long-continued efforts for Parliamentary Reform; and the debate became animated.

Mr. Bright and his immediate adherents of course opposed the measure of the Ministry, as it was very far from their ideas of what such a bill should be. More moderate Liberals thought it could be so modified in Committee as to meet the requirements of the time. Mr. Gladstone, who, in the division which followed, voted against the amendment, found it necessary to explain his course in a somewhat lengthy speech, an abstract of which will state the objections to this bill, and also the difficulties ensuing from its rejection, more clearly than is otherwise possible.

As there was no controversy traceable to differences between political parties, but a remarkable unanimity on all sides with regard to the necessity for Reform, he regretted that the House was now in debate which would estrange those whose united efforts were necessary to a satisfactory settlement. He objected to the form of the resolution, and only the weakness of the Government could induce him to vote for it. Like all others of the time, he saw grave evils arising from a change at this juncture; and the Liberals especially had cause to fear such a change, for they would be called to power, and that would only emphasize the divisions in that party. Mr. Gladstone was now identified with the Liberals, the name Peelite having gone almost completely out of use. He next proceeded to sketch the history of Reform as his own recollection afforded him the materials:

“In 1851 my noble friend [Lord J. Russell], then the First Minister of the Crown, approached the question of Reform, and commenced with a promise of what was to be done twelve months afterward. In 1852 he brought in a bill, and it disappeared, together with the Ministry. In 1853 we had the Ministry of Lord Aberdeen, which commenced with a promise of Reform in twelve months’ time. Well, 1854 arrived; with it arrived the bill, but with it also arrived the war, and in the war was a reason, and I believe a good reason, for abandoning the bill. Then came the Government of my noble friend the member for Tiverton [Palmerston] which was not less unfortunate in the circumstances which prevented the redemption of those pledges which had been given to the people from the mouth of the Sovereign on the throne. In 1855 my noble friend escaped all responsibility for a Reform Bill on account of the war; in 1856 he escaped all responsibility for Reform on account of the peace; in 1857 he escaped that inconvenient responsibility by the dissolution of Parliament; and in 1858 he escaped again by the dissolution of his Government.”

Frequently interrupted by the cheers and laughter of the House while thus summing up the history of Reform during the past seven or eight years, the speaker proceeded to point the moral of this “*ower true tale.*” The people had come to think that the House was only too willing to oppose this question; and this had made it hazardous to oppose the bill. He did not advocate the passage of the bill, however, as it stood, but urged strongly the reduction of the qualification, and declared that the small

boroughs deserved more consideration. They were the nursery ground of men who were destined to lead the House and be an ornament to their country, he said ; and he maintained that the extension and durability of English liberty were to be attributed, under Providence, to distinguished statesmen introduced into the House at an early age. Upon all these grounds he urged the House to go into committee, thus to discuss the bill more freely, and to make such alterations as might be necessary.

It should be remembered that the rules of the House of Commons preclude any member from speaking twice on the same subject ; but if the House go into committee, the Speaker leaving the chair, this restriction is removed and a freer discussion thereby made possible.

The division was taken shortly after the conclusion of Mr. Gladstone's speech. Though the House of Commons consisted of six hundred and fifty-eight members, it is rare that over five hundred take part in a division ; and the House frequently adjourns for lack of the necessary quorum of forty. On this occasion, however, there were present the almost unprecedented number of six hundred and twenty-one members ; and by this proportion of the House was the momentous question decided.

The division was taken, and showed that the Opposition had a majority of thirty-nine. This was a surprise to the members of the Government, and indeed to the Liberals ; for the whole question was so open, and party lines so confused, that the wisest old politician in the House could hardly have foretold the result with certainty.

Lord Derby decided to appeal to the country ; a step which occasioned much inconvenience, said John Bright, but was constitutional and perhaps necessary. Parliament was prorogued April 19th, and dissolved the next day. Writs were now issued for a new election, returnable at once ; and the new Parliament met May 31st. In this assembly, Mr. Gladstone again sat for the University of Oxford. The Government was in a considerable minority in the new House, and the effects of this state of affairs were felt at once. A week had been spent in swearing in new members, so that it was not until the 7th of June that Her Majesty opened Parliament in person, it having been opened by commission upon first assembling. The first business was the preparation of an address to the Queen ; the regular routine at the beginning of the session ; and to this address, as moved in

the House of Commons, the Marquis of Hartington offered an amendment. This was equivalent to proposing a vote of want of confidence, and the result was eagerly looked for. The debate lasted three nights, and terminated with a division which showed a majority of nineteen against the Ministry. Having been twice defeated in the House, there was no option but for them to resign; and resign they did.



Lord Palmerston.

The Liberal party, to whom the power had thus fallen, was divided against itself; Lord John Russell headed one portion, while Lord Palmerston was the chief of the other. A coolness had existed between these two for some time, though it was said that at the date of Lord Derby's resignation they had been reconciled, and would act together. But it was at least doubtful how long Russell would endure Palmerston as his chief, and more than doubtful whether Palmerston would consent to act under Russell. In this dilemma, the Queen sent for Lord Granville,

who was the confessed leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Lords ; and gave him her command to form a Ministry.

Contrary to precedent, a portion of the interview in which this arrangement was made was published in the *Times* ; and it is from this article that we learn the reasons for this choice, as well as the Queen's fear of offending either of these eminent statesmen by nominating the other to the highest honor in her gift. The publication of this account was regarded by some of the stricter politicians of the old school as the sign of a general breaking up of all the boundaries of decency and respect for royalty ; but was easily and naturally explained by Lord Granville, who had obtained permission to state to his political friends what had occurred, and the interview had thus indirectly got around to the newspaper.

But the Queen did not understand her ex-ministers as well as she thought. For some reason, which is not clearly explained, Lord John Russell declined to serve under Lord Granville, but professed his readiness to accept office in a Palmerston Government. Under such circumstances, Lord Granville having confessed that he would not form a Cabinet, the post was offered to Lord Palmerston.

Three of the important offices in this Ministry were filled by the same men who had occupied those posts in the first Palmerston administration ; of these, we are most interested in the performance of the duties of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which Mr. Gladstone was again called upon to perform. Regarding this appointment, Molesworth, whose "History of England from the Year 1830," John Bright commends as "honestly written," uses the following language :

"Another gentleman whose accession to the Ministry gave it great strength and stability, and whose presence in it was perhaps necessary to its existence, certainly to its permanence, was Mr. Gladstone. He had to face a strong contest for his seat for the University of Oxford ; but his friends succeeded, though not without difficulty, in obtaining his re-election, notwithstanding the opposition of many members of the university who had formerly given him their support, but who were becoming intolerant of the more and more pronounced liberality of his views, and whose anger and suspicions were further roused by his acceptance of office in the Palmerston administration."

Although Mr. Gladstone had at such length explained that his

vote for Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill was merely given because he feared the results of a change of Government, and was not an indorsement either of the measure itself, or of the general course of the Ministry which had framed it, his opponent in this election was not slow to accuse him of tergiversation in accepting office immediately in the Ministry formed by Lord Derby's opponent and successor. This charge was best answered by a plain unvarnished statement of the facts in the case, and quotations from Mr. Gladstone's speech on that occasion; and seems to have been lightly thought of by the electors; for the vote of 859 for Lord Chandos against 1050 for Mr. Gladstone is not a large one, when we consider how deeply Mr. Gladstone's liberalistic tendencies had offended many of the electors long before he signalized those tendencies by his course on the present occasion.

The Palmerston Ministry had been formed early in June; the nominations at Oxford took place the 27th of the same month, and the polling continued for five days. But the new Chancellor of the Exchequer had his budget ready the 18th of July. His speech was given the same flattering reception which had always been accorded him, the strict attention which was so rarely given to speeches on financial questions. It was a thoroughly simple and at the same time a thoroughly honest measure. He had to provide for a large addition to the naval and military establishments, in consequence of which it was estimated that while the revenue for the ensuing year would be £64,340,000, the expenditure would be £69,207,000. True to the principle upon which he had acted when the war created such an enormous deficit in the estimated revenue, Mr. Gladstone did not propose to make up this deficiency of nearly five million pounds by a loan, or by any of the expedients usually adopted by those Chancellors of the Exchequer who are desirous only of delaying the evil. By an addition of 4*d* in the pound to the tax on incomes above £150, a penny stamp on bankers' cheques drawn across the counter, and by the diminution of the malt credits from eighteen to twelve weeks, thus anticipating a portion of the next year's income, he calculated that the deficit would be met without adding to the debt.

This budget was of course attacked by Mr. Disraeli, who objected to the raising of seventy millions annually, and urged that it would be better to have some understanding with France, so that the expense of maintaining the army might be material-

ly reduced. It may here be noted that a popular movement of this year accomplished more in this direction than any speech which was made in the House of Commons. The people had been considerably alarmed by some intemperate language used by certain French officers; there was a regular invasion panic, which the Prime Minister is said to have encouraged. The result of this was the formation of rifle corps, which, surviving the alarm that caused them to be organized, made the reduction of the regular army possible, without reducing at the same time the available military strength to resist invasion.

The danger of invasion, as we have hinted, was supposed to be from France. Though the two countries had been allies in the Crimean War, we can hardly reckon that Napoleon III. was ever very popular in England, or ever thoroughly trusted by the bulk of the thinking people. His alliance with England against Russia counted for nothing, for he had but used one nation as a tool with which to wreak his vengeance upon the other; he had extorted Nice and Savoy from Sardinia, as the price of the support in the war between Italy and Austria which Cavour had forced him to give; he had turned against Austria, with which he had previously been in firm alliance; and it was doubtful which would be the next victim of his rapacity, Prussia or England. So felt the people of the time; though the record of such fears reads strangely enough to us who have been told of Sedan and Chiselhurst, and of that fierce sortie of Zulu warriors, which finally extinguished his line.

“Napoleon III.,” said a clever epigrammatist, “deceived Europe twice—once in persuading it that he was an idiot; once in inducing it to believe that he was a statesman.” At this time, the impression obtained that he was a statesman, and had the English people but been wise, they might soon have discovered that Nice and Savoy were not what he thought they would be to him; that the Italians had decidedly the best of the bargain. But they were not wise. The most reasonable and harmless actions of the French Government were made the ground of suspicion and alarm; it even occasioned uneasiness that the Power across the channel should push the project of the “impracticable Suez Canal.” It was under such circumstances as this that a commercial treaty with France was proposed in the early days of 1860; a treaty which had been arranged in a peculiar way; Mr. Cobden, who was looked upon as being much safer and more Con-

servative than Mr. Bright, though he was really the more restless reformer, was sent to France to talk the matter over with the Emperor. Napoleon III. never let his dignity stand in the way of any real or fancied advantage, and readily agreed to discuss the matter thus informally with Mr. Cobden, who had never held office under the British Government, though Lord Palmerston had offered him the Board of Trade in the present Ministry. This arrangement was mainly brought about by Mr. Gladstone, who most ardently desired the treaty. The great majority of the people of France were ardent Protectionists; the Emperor, himself, however, was a Free Trader; and if the treaty should be concluded, it must be by the exertion of his imperial will and authority, not by any consent of the representatives of the people.

The treaty itself will be best summed up in the words which Mr. Gladstone used in stating its provisions to the House of Commons. The occasion was the introduction of the budget in February, 1860.

“Perhaps, sir, as the committee have not yet had an opportunity of reading the instrument itself, it may be convenient that I should in the first place state to them very briefly the principal covenants. First, I shall take the engagements of France. France engages to reduce the duty on English coal and coke, from the 1st of July, 1860; on tools and machinery, from the 1st of December, 1860; and on yarns, and goods in flax and hemp, including, I believe, jute—this last an article comparatively new in commerce, but one in which a great and very just interest is felt in some great trading districts—from the 1st of June, 1861. That is the first important engagement into which France enters. Her second and greater engagement is postponed to the 1st of October, 1861. I think it is probably in the knowledge of the committee, that this postponement is stipulated under a pledge given by the



Richard Cobden.

Government of France to the classes who there, as here, have supposed themselves to be interested in the maintenance of prohibition. On the 1st of October, then, in the year 1861, France engages to reduce the duties and take away the prohibitions on all articles of British production mentioned in a certain list, in such a manner that no duty upon any one of these articles shall exceed thirty per cent. *ad valorem*. I do not speak of articles of food, which do not materially enter into the treaty; but the list to which I refer, sir, includes all the staples of British manufacture, whether of yarns, flax, hemp, hair, wool, silk, or cotton; all manufactures of skins, leather, bark, wood; iron and all other metals; glass, stoneware, earthenware, or porcelain. I will not go through the whole list; it is indeed needless, for I am not aware of any great or material article that is omitted. France also engages to commute those *ad valorem* duties into rated duties by a separate convention, to be framed for the purpose of giving effect to the terms which I have described. But if there should be a disagreement as to the terms on which they should be rated by the convention, then the maximum chargeable on every class at thirty per cent. *ad valorem* will be levied at the proper period, not in the form of a rated duty, but upon the value; and the value will be determined by the process now in use in the English customs.

“I come next, sir, to the English covenants. England engages, with a limited power of exception, which we propose to exercise only with regard to two or three articles, to abolish immediately and totally all duties upon all manufactured goods. There will be a sweep, summary, entire and absolute, of what are known as manufactured goods from the face of the British tariff. Further, England engages to reduce the duty on brandy from 15s the gallon to the level of the colonial duty; namely, 8s 2d the gallon. She engages to reduce immediately the duty on foreign wine. In the treaty it is of course French wine which is specified; but it was perfectly understood between France and ourselves, that we proceed with regard to the commodities of all countries alike. England engages, then, to reduce the duty on wine from a rate nearly reaching 5s 10d per gallon, to 3s per gallon. She engages, beside a present reduction, further to reduce that duty from the 1st of April, 1861, to a scale which has reference to the strength of the wine measured by the quantity of spirit it contains.”

The provisions of the treaty would of course cause a reduction in the revenue ; but this was considerably less, Mr. Gladstone calculated, than the relief which the measure would give. The deficit thus occasioned would be made up, he argued, by the falling in of long annuities ; and the measure which was designed to be a permanent benefit would thus be attended by not even a temporary inconvenience.

But the house was by no means ready to assent to this plan. Not only did the Conservatives oppose it, as might have been expected, but some of the Liberals were equally bitter in their denunciations of such a compromise measure. It was a curious feature of the debate, that some of the most eminent Free Traders in the House, including Gladstone, Bright and Cobden, were accused of renouncing their principles in favor of a measure of Protection ; and by urging the conclusion of a treaty which could only be carried out on the other side by the will of the Emperor, opposed to the sentiments of his people, they were obliged to defend themselves from a charge of rejecting the principles of representative government. Such a charge, applied to Gladstone, is only less ridiculous than a similar one having Bright for its object.

The Government did not attempt to deny that this was a compromise measure ; but it was the best that could be done ; and as such it was presented to the House. When the budget had been fully presented, the Opposition armed itself for the fight. The battle was opened by a shot from Mr. Disraeli, who offered an amendment affirming that the House was not ready to go into committee upon the Customs act until it should have considered and assented to the provisions of the treaty. The right honorable gentleman attacked the treaty, attacked the Government, attacked Mr. Cobden, with all the warmth which was characteristic of his speeches on such occasions. He cited the example of Pitt in 1786 ; and doubtless considered his shot a telling one. But it had missed its mark ; and the return fire was one which rattled long about his ears and those of his confederates.

Of the speech in which Mr. Gladstone answered this attack of the ex-chancellor, a contemporary newspaper said : " The Chancellor of the Exchequer has won his Magenta gallantly, and with extraordinary damage to the enemy. The battle has been renewed, and is raging while we write, but the Opposition army is dispirited and charges languidly, and all seems tending toward

a ministerial Solferino. Mr. Gladstone distinguished himself in the first engagement by a feat of arms of the most brilliant character, and none of his own Homeric heroes could have more terribly poured in thunder on the foe. Dropping martial metaphor, it may be said that the best debater in the House of Commons delivered, in answer to Mr. Disraeli—no unworthy antagonist—a speech in which the lucidity of the argument was worthy of the powerful declamation of the orator. From the outset he



Hon. John Bright.

showed his masterly grasp of the subject and an ability quite as conspicuous as if he had made this one question the great study of his life. With perfect ease and self-possession he rose to the occasion, pointed out clearly the salient features of Parliamentary action, and indicated the far reaching effects of the principles under consideration. He showed his familiarity with minute details, gaining at once the attentive ear of his auditors. In all these respects he showed his mental superiority. When Mr. Gladstone addresses himself in his best manner to his work, as he did

upon the occasion in question, the House of Commons is justly proud of its illustrious member. Sometimes, like Burke,

“He goes on refining,
And thinks of convincing, while they think of dining,”

(or rather of *dividing*, for he seldom throws himself away upon the *Impransi*); but there was no such waste of thought upon this occasion, when he closed with his adversary like a man who meant mischief—and he did it. Mr. Disraeli knows best whether it was wise to get his forces so exceedingly well beaten at the beginning of the financial campaign; but that is his affair and Prince Rupert's.”

The House divided upon the amendment which was thus ably argued against, and the Government found itself in a majority of sixty-three. An amendment to the budget brought forward by a minor member of the Opposition was less fortunate than Mr. Disraeli's had proved, for this condemnation of the proposition to re-impose the income tax, though only for a brief period, was defeated by more than one hundred.

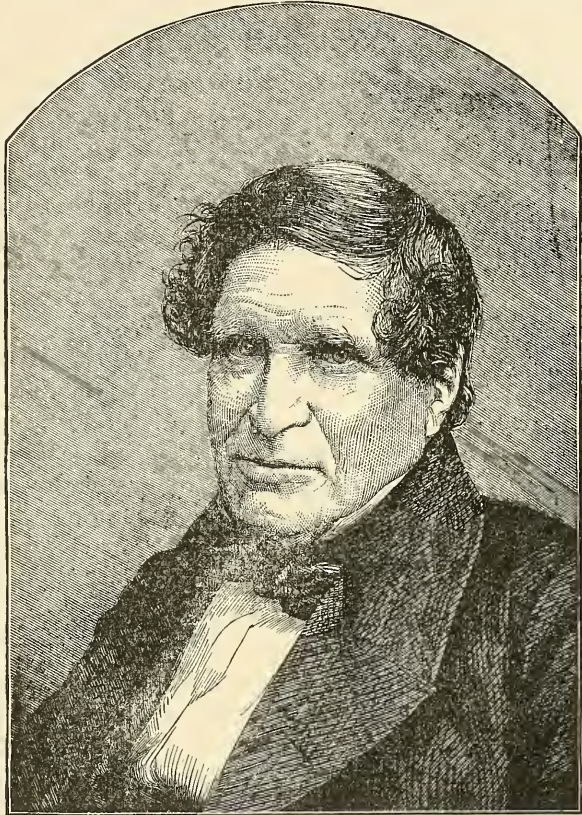
There was another important feature of the budget; the proposed abolition of the tax on paper. When we consider the difficulties with which newspapers, those principal consumers of paper, have had to contend, we should be astonished, not at the faults that they show, but that they exist. It is true that the great newspaper is a power in the community, no less in conservative England than in the United States, which sometimes appears to be as fond of novelties as ever were the Athenians; but the English newspapers of the beginning of this century proceeded upon a mistaken course; they encouraged the tax which tended to raise the price of their publications, in the belief that their profits would be diminished if they lost the practical monopoly; the ostensible reason for their opposition being that cheap journalism would necessarily be nasty. Originally imposed with the idea of checking the establishment of seditious newspapers, the duty in 1836 was a penny upon each copy. Added to this, there was a sixpence tax on each advertisement; besides this there was a considerable tax upon the white paper, represented by a duty imposed for the benefit of the manufacturer. The tax on advertisements was abolished; in 1855 the penny duty upon each copy was no longer exacted; it remained for Mr. Gladstone to take the final step in promoting the interests of the million readers, by recommending the abolition of

this protective duty. Of course there was opposition from the manufacturers and their representatives in Parliament; for the British Parliament differs from the American Congress in this, that most of the great interests of the country have their acknowledged representatives. There are others, as there must be in every representative assembly, who care but little about such things, but are ready enough to vote for a certain measure to oblige a friend. There was a good deal of rallying up of such men to sustain the cause of the paper-making and journal-selling monopoly. The result was that although the propositions of the Government were finally carried, they were carried by constantly decreasing majorities. In place of votes which ran a hundred or so ahead of the numbers on the opposite side, as the other portions of the same plan had received, the resolutions to abolish the excise on paper were won, on the second reading, by fifty-three; on the third, by only nine.

The bill which had met with this obstinate resistance in the Commons was not more fortunate in the Lords. It was fought with persistent argument; Lord Lyndhurst, who had been perhaps the most powerful supporter of the Conservative party in his day, and the most able and distinguished member of the Peel Ministry of 1834, as well as of the later Cabinets formed by Conservative Premiers, was especially vigorous in his opposition to it. All the force of that brilliant and powerful oratory which had secured his advancement a half-century before, was employed by the old man, now nearly eighty-nine years old, to defeat this plan which was so distasteful to the hereditary legislators.

While the question was still being debated in the House of Lords, where Lord Monteaule had given notice of a hostile motion, and Lord Derby had announced his intention of supporting it, although he admitted that he thought, if the income could stand it, the tax ought to be abolished, the members of the House of Commons were protesting indignantly against this usurpation of their privileges. Like our own House of Representatives, the Commons alone can originate bills relating to revenue; and this effort of the Lords to prevent the abolition of a tax against which the Commons had decided, was looked upon as equivalent to imposing a new tax. Perhaps the Lords would not have ventured upon this course, had the majorities in the House of Commons been greater; certainly they only hold what power they have on condition of never using it, and their attitude of independence

upon this occasion was looked upon as subversive of all representative government. Public meetings were held, to protest against their usurpation of power, which Mr. Gladstone denounced as a "gigantic innovation." At these meetings, John Bright and his immediate adherents were of course the leading spirits, but there were others who did not always act with them,



Lord Lyndhurst.

who were now only too willing to be at their side. It was said at the time that the Chancellor of the Exchequer showed himself the worst Radical of them all; quite "out-Heroded Herod" in his assertions of the rights of the people.

The Lords kept on in the course which they had marked out for themselves, quite regardless of the popular agitation. The debate finally ended; not without some strange and apparently

irreconcilable assertions from Lord Derby, the acknowledged head of the Conservative party; he would support the abolition of the tax, if he thought that the revenue could stand it, he said again; forgetting that the recognized authority, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was in possession of data which others could not readily obtain, and who was besides his official advantages gifted as few financiers have been, had announced it as his deliberate opinion that the revenue could stand it; he further acknowledged, to a deputation which waited upon him, composed of many eminent men who represented literature and journalism, that the House of Lords had no right to modify a tax in the slightest degree. This last acknowledgment, however, was not to be obtained from Lyndhurst, who had been Lord Chancellor during three administrations, and the clearness of whose judgments had never been excelled; the "old man eloquent" continued to maintain the privileges of that order to which his legal acumen had caused his admission.

Others there were of less note to speak on the same side; and we do not hear of any strong speech in support of the Government in the Upper House. This branch of the national legislature is always largely Conservative, if anything like its full strength be brought out; and upon this division there were no fewer than two hundred and ninety-seven votes cast, or more than three-fourths of the whole number of peers, including those who, not being of age, were not entitled to a voice in the proceedings. Of these votes, one hundred and ninety-three were against the Government, which was thus left in a minority of eighty-nine in the Upper House.

The story goes, that Lord Palmerston was asked what he intended to do about it; with the almost American habit of joking which characterized so many of his utterances, he replied: "I mean to tell them that it was a very good joke for once, but they must not give it to us again." Whether the Premier actually gave this reply or not, is a question which is not answered by any competent authority; but it was quite in his line to have spoken so to any one who made such an inquiry; and this very policy was the one which he actually pursued. Immediately upon the reassembling of Parliament, after the recess, Lord Palmerston brought forward a series of resolutions affirming that the Commons alone possessed the power of re-imposing taxes, and saying, in effect, that the Lords had better not try it again,

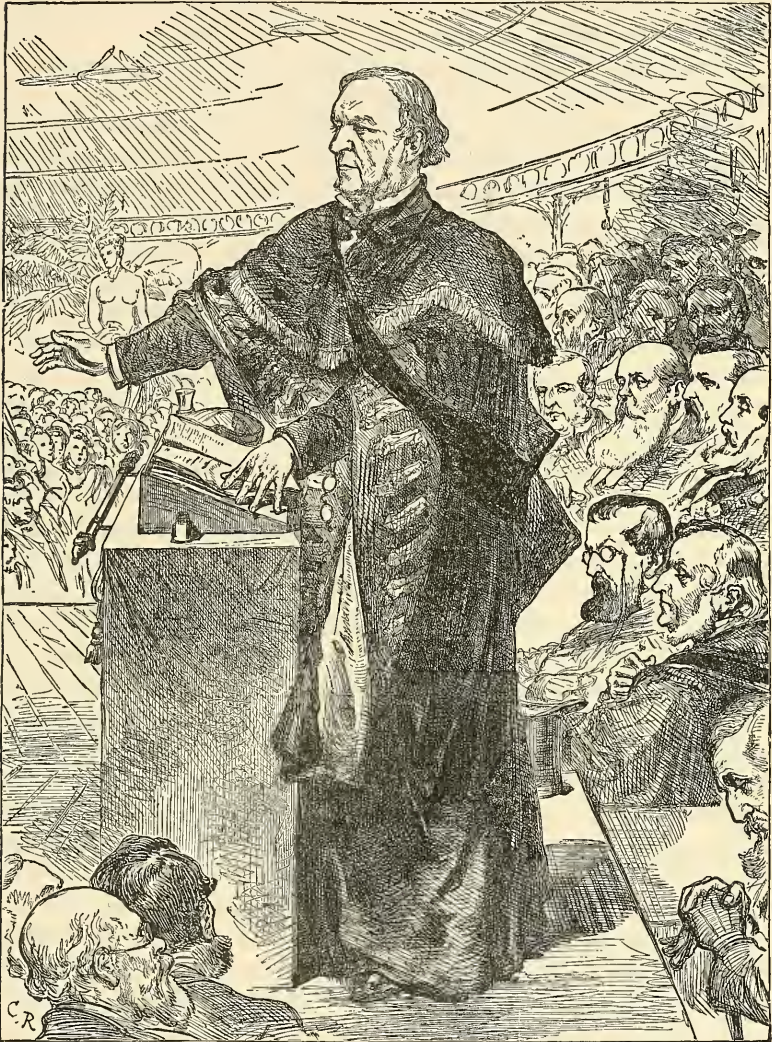
Mr. Gladstone had done it all, said the Conservatives, who were not far wrong. The whole question is of little importance at this day, save as it bears directly upon our subject; the Lords had had their lesson, and neither in the next session, when the same measure was again proposed, nor since that time, under similar circumstances, have they ventured to resist the abolition of a tax which the House of Commons has decided shall be imposed no longer. The main interest is that attaching to Mr. Gladstone in this question; not as showing what eminence he had attained, or what influence he possessed, for that is a thing which the veriest tyro in English history can tell us, but as evidencing the progress which he had made in liberalism of opinion and feeling. He had even outrun some of his later Whig colleagues. The position which he took in this controversy was entirely different from that assumed by Lord Palmerston. He condemned without reserve or mitigation the conduct of the Lords, and the grounds on which he based this decision made it all the more welcome to the Radicals. He did not indeed support the course of extreme self-assertion which some Radical members recommended to the House of Commons; but he made it clear that he disclaimed such measures only because he felt that the House of Lords would soon come to its senses again, and would refrain from similar acts of unconstitutional interference in the future. Hitherto he had been Liberal in feeling and opinion, but this was hardly patent to himself, so gradually had the change been wrought, and so faint were the lines between the moderate Liberals and the moderate Conservatives; much less was it apparent to others. The first decisive intimation of the course which he was henceforward to tread was his declaration that the constitutional privileges of the representative assembly were not safe in the hands of the Conservative Opposition. Mr. Gladstone was distinctly regarded during that debate as the advocate of a policy far more energetic than that supported by Lord Palmerston. The promoters of the meetings which had been held to protest against the interference of the Lords found full warrant for the course they had taken in Mr. Gladstone's arguments. Lord Palmerston, on the other hand, certainly suffered somewhat in the eyes of these stern and uncompromising upholders of the rights of the Commons. It was urged that he who was ready enough to sanction Radical movements on the continent was far less tolerant of them at home. But whatever the reasons upon

which the two men based their disapproval, theirs, added to that which was heard on every side, was quite sufficient to frighten the Lords, who did not try their little joke again, even when the same measure was again sent up by the Commons.

There remains one other important measure introduced during the session of 1860, to be noted in this connection. The Derby Ministry had gone out of office because of their failure to carry a Reform Bill. Lord John Russell, whose efforts in this direction had been made the subject of Mr. Gladstone's kindly ridicule in the previous session, was naturally the one most interested in the measure, and he was the Minister to whom the work was intrusted. The bill was brought in March 1st, and read for the second time on the 19th of the same month. The debate lasted, at intervals, until the 11th of June. A measure which thus hangs on cannot be said to be a popular one with the House; nor was this. The bill as it was proposed was rather more offensive to the conservative Liberals than to the Tories themselves; and of this division of the party in power the Premier was the head. Lord John Russell was the chief of the more popular section, and his Reform Bill, which was a moderate and simple scheme enough, was called The People's Bill. Palmerston was all but openly opposed to this darling measure of his colleague, however; and although he was usually a regular attendant upon the sessions of the House, he managed to be absent at nearly all the sessions that the measure came up for discussion; when he did chance to be present, he preserved a silence, which on the part of the Prime Minister when a Government bill was being discussed, was extremely significant.

The bill proposed that the county franchise should be lowered to ten pounds, the borough to six; and made a considerable change in the apportionment of members; it also provided that where a constituency returned three members, the electors should vote for but two, thus giving a representative to the minority. This was in strict accordance with the ideas of the Manchester school, and partly because it was so pleasing to Messrs. Bright, Cobden, *et al.*, the more Conservative members of the Cabinet found it extremely distasteful. Had the Premier spoken once in its favor, it would probably have been carried; but the Conservatives had an easy task before them. The Opposition dared not oppose the measure openly: Disraeli saw that clearly; he might have occasion to introduce a Reform Bill some day himself and

though he did not shrink from inconsistency, and had frequently disavowed principles of which he had formerly been the ardent



Mr. Gladstone as Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh.

supporter, there was no use of providing his enemies with arguments against him. He contented himself with a quiet, languid style of speech, which seemed to say, "You may think that this is

a Reform Bill, but you just ought to see what I could do, if I had the opportunity and was so inclined." The bill needed no resistance from its enemies; the passivity of its friends was quite enough to kill it.

There were not wanting those who saw what the Premier's silence meant, and endeavored to reason with him.

"Why should you oppose this measure?" asked a friend of him; "The representatives who would be sent to a reformed Parliament would be men of the same character and standing with those who sit in the present Parliament."

"Yes," he answered, grimly, "I suppose they would; but they would play to the galleries instead of the boxes."

Mr. Gladstone was a warm supporter of the bill, and spoke in vindication of the conduct and consistency of the introducer. He ridiculed the fears of those who thought that the proposed franchise would deteriorate the constituencies of the country; and urged that the new electors would be fully as intelligent and capable of judging men and measures, as many who already held it. The apprehensions that the six pound electors would become so numerous as to swamp the representation of property and station in the House were utterly unfounded and delusive.

The bill was read a second time without a division, but finding it impossible to carry it through, Lord John Russell withdrew it; preferring delay to defeat.


As we began this chapter with an account of a mission on which Mr. Gladstone was dispatched because he was a profound Greek scholar, we close with the mention of an honor which was shown him because of the same eminence in learning. April 16th, 1860, he was installed as Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, having previously to the installation received the degree of LL.D.

In an address, the great value of which was its practical view of the work performed by the universities, and the responsibilities of those who were students there, Mr. Gladstone told the assembled students how broad was the field of knowledge which they were to till; and how broad the field of time over which the human mind has sowed and reaped its harvest.

CHAPTER VIII.

EMANCIPATION FROM TORYISM.

Wet Weather and Poor Harvests—Dull Session in Parliament—Post-Office Savings Banks—Garibaldi and His Red Shirt—Mr. Gladstone Defends the Liberator of Italy—Improvement in the Nation's Finances—Protest of the Opposition—Bitter Attack on Gladstone—Repeal of the Paper Duty—The Ionian Islands again—English Opinion and the American Civil War—Reduction of the Income Tax—Surplus in the Revenues for 1864—The Working Classes—Osborne's Amusing Speech—The Question of Church and State—Mr. Gladstone Declares Himself Unmuzzled.

O talk about the weather of the present day is bad enough; but what shall we say when the records of nearly thirty years ago are brought forward to explain the course of politics? Yet so it must be now; for the weather in the summer of 1860 was the means of vindicating the wisdom of those statesmen who had so persistently maintained the doctrine of Free Trade. During the months of June, July and August, there was a prevalence of severe, cold, heavy rains, violent gales, and destructive floods; and the long continuance of this unfavorable weather gave rise to the fear that there would be an entire failure of the crops. Toward the end of August, indeed, there was some slight amelioration; so that the crop was really better than was anticipated, though it was by no means up to the average. The removal of the restrictions which had so long impeded the free interchange of commodities with other countries now acted in a most salutary manner, when the enlarged necessities of the country had driven her to the resources of a foreign supply. Under the operation of protective laws, the country would have suffered most severely; but the working-classes especially, now realized the beneficial effects of Free Trade; and those statesmen who had advocated it so strongly became correspondingly popular.

The speech from the Throne at the beginning of the session of 1861 was a disappointment to many of the supporters of the Government, as well as to some actually in the Cabinet. There

was no mention of the great question of Parliamentary Reform; the only promise of legislation which was held out had reference to some of those law-reforms which had already been under the consideration of Parliament. An amendment expressive of the dissatisfaction that was felt at this notable omission was at once brought forward, but was opposed by Mr. Disraeli, who had no notion of the Liberals achieving distinction by their advocacy of Reform; and by Lord John Russell, who contended that it would be better to take no action at all until such changes as would work definite improvement in the existing system could be made. Though this view of the matter was strenuously opposed by Mr. Bright, who spoke strongly in regard to the inconsistency of Lord Russell in now manifesting such lukewarmness toward a measure which he had formerly supported with such ardent enthusiasm. But the Ministry was divided in itself upon this very question; in the previous session, the bill had been lost because of the Premier's open hostility; the majority of the members of the House of Commons were beyond a doubt anxious to get rid of the whole question; and the amendment calling for a consideration of Reform was vetoed by a majority of eighty-three.

The Palmerston Government then, had replaced the Derby Government because the Reform Bill which the latter had proposed was not sufficiently comprehensive to meet the demands of the people; and the Ministry which had come into power under such circumstances had now coolly set aside the whole thing, as something which it was not expedient to consider at all. Palmerston's colleagues must of course share the blame which attached to such conduct by continuing to hold office under a Minister who had been capable of such gross inconsistency.

The debates of this session were characterized by unusual tameness and dullness. In the House of Lords, the Earl of Derby strongly condemned the policy of the Government regarding France and Italy; a policy which he described as placing upon the shoulders of the people "an amount of taxation absolutely unprecedented in time of peace, and only made more intolerable by the financial freaks of the Chancellor of the Exchequer." To this attack we have the most eloquent of all answers—that which the subsequent prosperity, brought about by those very financial freaks, gives for Mr. Gladstone.

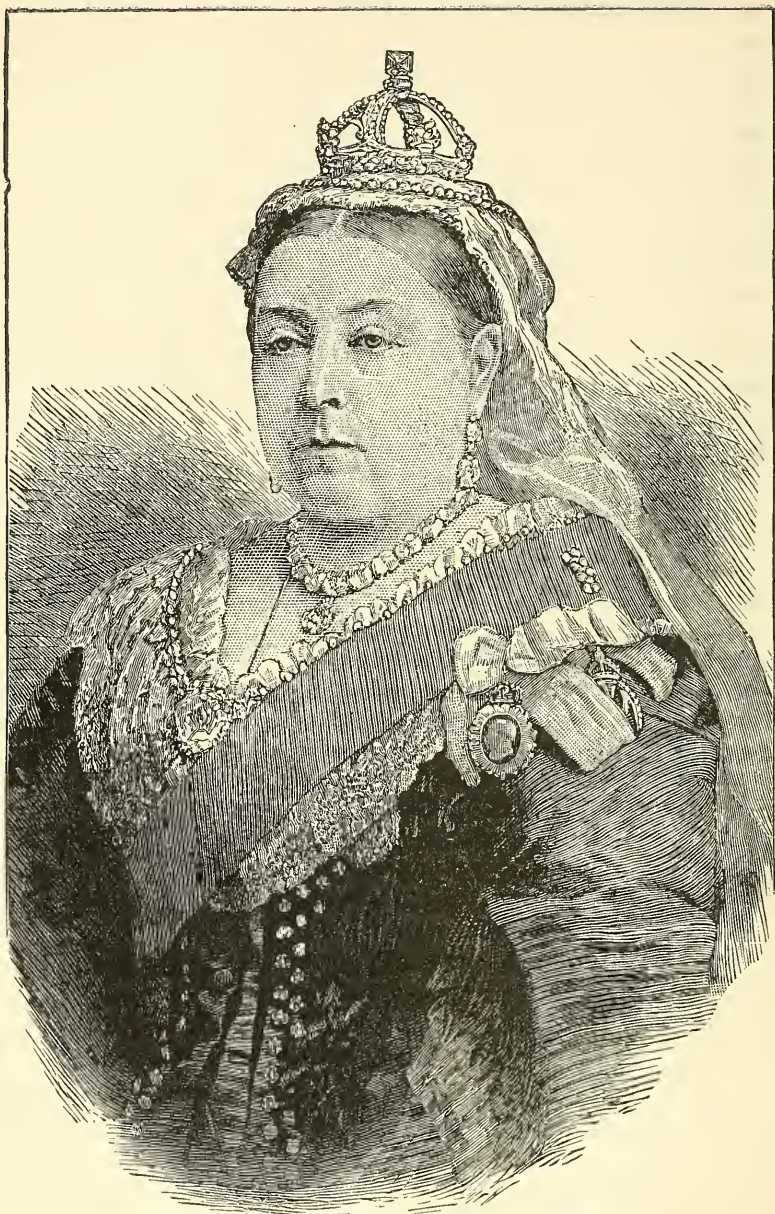
Perhaps the most important measure which was this session

brought forward by this high officer of the revenue was that which established the Post Office Saving Banks. This is the second notable reform, especially affecting the middle and lower classes, which was the result of Gladstone's labors; the reader will recall the provisions of that bill which, while he was President of the Board of Trade during Sir Robert Peel's administration, established the Parliamentary Train on the Railways of Great Britain. The establishment of the Post Office Savings Banks has undoubtedly been of inestimable benefit to many classes of the British community.

Following the course of the session, we find Mr. Gladstone taking part in the discussion on the vexed subject of Church Rates. After an eloquent speech, he concluded by suggesting that an arrangement might be made by which the power of a majority of a parish to accept or reject Church Rates as a right, should be agreed to, at the same time allowing a parish to tax itself by the will of the majority. This proposition was assailed by Mr. Bright, as leaving the question exactly where it was already, that where you could not get Church Rates you were to let them alone. The bill to abolish Church Rates was carried by a small majority, which included Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, with other members of the Government; but Mr. Gladstone voted against the measure.

If the questions which related to internal affairs were few and of but slight consequence, when viewed from this distance of time and space, those which had to do with foreign affairs were neither few nor unimportant. Italy was convulsed with that struggle which finally resulted in her independence and union; the United States were just beginning that war which was to rage for four years, with an incalculable expenditure of blood and treasure. Austria was defending her Italian possessions and allies; France was drawn into the struggle, as an ally of Victor Emmanuel; the utmost efforts would be necessary to prevent England's being compelled to take part, either with Italy or Austria, with the United States or the Confederate States.

Victor Emmanuel comes to our minds with the prestige of success for an added jewel to his crown; and dazzled by that, and by the knowledge that his sovereignty of a united Italy has undoubtedly worked much good to its people, we can hardly understand how the King of Naples could find friends and defenders in liberty-loving England. Ferdinand II., who was responsible



Queen Victoria at the Opening of Parliament in 1861.

for those abuses which Mr. Gladstone had been the main instrument in correcting by his fearless exposure of the condition of the Neapolitan prisons, had now been dead for nearly two years, and his son, Francis II., reigned in his stead. The new king was a not unworthy son of such a father, but his power had been first curtailed, then forever nullified, by the acts of Garibaldi. The hero of Italy had more than twenty-five years before this time been condemned to death for participating in a futile revolutionary outbreak at Genoa; his life since the failure of that effort had been devoted to the cause of freedom. Pursued by the Austrians, his wife had died in his arms, exhausted by the dangers and terrible exertions of their flight. An exile from his country, he had made himself famous as the liberator of others. When he returned to Italy, it was as the acknowledged representative of the people's desire for freedom and union. Success had followed him; and his army had grown steadily. In September, 1860, he entered Naples; not at the head of his troops, as a conqueror, but with one or two friends; that it might be seen how his coming was awaited by the people. At last the message was flashed along the wires, at the close of that last battle which Garibaldi fought as commander in this struggle—"Complete victory along the whole line." Victor Emmanuel crossed the Papal frontier and resumed command of the army; Garibaldi relinquished into the hands of the constitutional sovereign, whose authority he had agreed to recognize, in place of that of a republic, the absolute sway which he had acquired over the Neapolitan provinces.

Such was the state of affairs at the beginning of the year 1861, when the question was brought up for discussion in the British Parliament. At that time, as we have already said, there were some supporters in England of Ferdinand II., and Victor Emmanuel was strongly condemned by many for the recognition of Garibaldi, for supporting him and approving the invasion of Naples. The conservative element was startled at the idea of a sailor's son presuming to interfere in the government of kingdoms and the questions of dynasties and thrones, which belonged properly to high-born statesmen; and was scarcely less shocked at the idea of a scion of royalty accepting the assistance of such a man. Mr. Roebuck predicted that if Garibaldi attempted to do in Venetia what he had already done in Naples and Sicily, he would be hanged within a week.

A motion for going into Committee of Supply having been made in the House of Commons, Mr. Pope Hennessy rose to call attention to the "active interference of the Secretary of State in promoting Piedmontese policy," and condemned that policy as causing the increase of the national burdens in Piedmont, the decline of its trade and commerce, the waste of the population in predatory war, and the consequent decay of agriculture. This motion gave rise to the most exciting debate of the session. It was



Garibaldi.

warmly supported by Sir George Bowyer, who, in addition to the contrast between Piedmont and the Papal States, which had been boldly drawn by Mr. Hennessy, urged that the English support of Napoleon III. was paralyzing all other European allies. The policy of the present Government, he said, had destroyed that prestige of honor and justice which used to attend the British flag, since it encouraged none but the revolutionary party in Europe, who

were the unprincipled tools of the unbounded ambition of the French Emperor.

The second night of the debate, Mr. Gladstone rose to speak on the other side. There were other speeches, of course, in the defense of the liberator of Italy, and of England's recognition of his services to the race; but his is, as usual, reckoned the most eloquent, the most crushing expose of the errors which his opponents were supporting.

Had the debate been confined to criticisms of the King of Sardinia, he said, or if it concerned only the policy pursued by the English Foreign Minister, he would have remained silent,

confident of the wide-spread approval which that policy commanded. He believed it to be stamped with approval throughout the great body of the people of England, from the greatest to the least. But the speakers upon the motion had called upon the House to lament the foreign policy of the Government, which they alleged was founded upon injustice, and said that the cause which the Ministry favored in Italy was the persecution of righteous governments. The revolution in Naples was called a wicked conspiracy, carried on by an unprincipled king and a cunning minister; and the people of Naples had been said to be governed by benignant laws, wisely administered, and were devoted to their king. Mr. Gladstone, in reply to this characterization, sketched the history of Naples from the accession of Ferdinand II.; and the story was an unanswerable argument against the house which had been so lately dethroned. Francis had been lauded for the courage which he had displayed at Gaeta. To this Gladstone replied: "It is all very well to claim consideration for him on account of his courage; but I confess I feel much more admiration for the courage of the honorable Member for Dundalk and the honorable member for King's County (Bowyer and Hennessy); for I think I would rather live in a stout and well-built casemate, listening to the whizzing of bullets and the bursting of shells, than come before a free assembly to vindicate—" Mr. Gladstone was here interrupted by the tumultuous cheering, and was for some time unable to proceed. When the confusion had subsided, he continued: "—than to vindicate such a cause as that which those honorable gentlemen have espoused." With merciless exactitude he went on piling up accusations against Francis, and substantiating each by indisputable proofs. Nor was Naples the only state on which he turned the brilliant light of his eloquence. The Romagna, Perugia, Modena, all fell under the lash; and the Italians were exonerated from the charge of rebellion by a recital of the policy which had been pursued by Austria. He closed with a felicitous reference to the manner in which the revolution had been accomplished, and the lasting blessing which the consolidation of Italy, and her restoration to national life, would be to Europe at large as well as to herself.

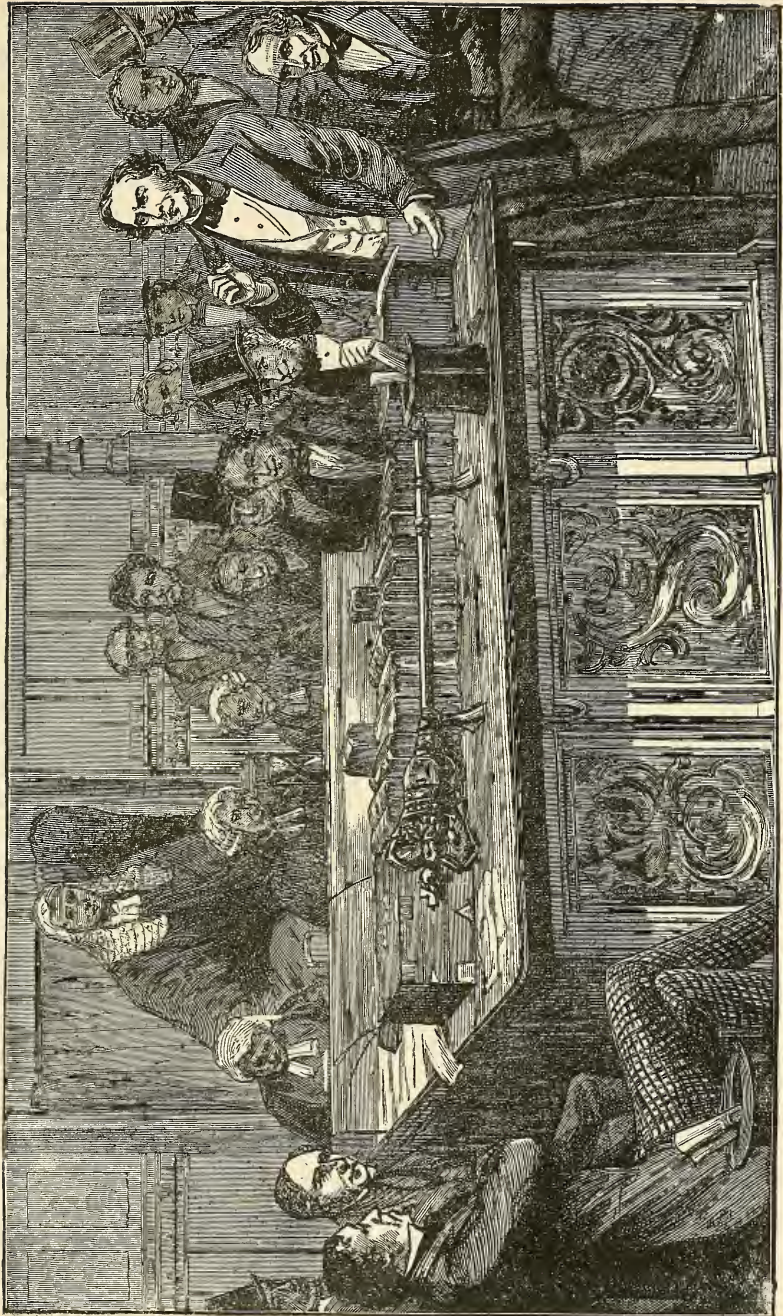
So eloquent were the supporters of the Government, and so popular was the cause of Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel, that the debate terminated without a division. The subject again came up for discussion during the latter part of the session, when

Mr. Gladstone took occasion to deny the charge of promoting revolutionary movements in Italy, which had been brought against the Ministry; and adduced facts and circumstances in justification of his previous attack upon the Duke of Modena, by which he showed how criminal justice was administered in that duchy.

The budget of the year was presented to the House on the fifteenth of April. The House was densely crowded when Mr. Gladstone rose, immediately upon the opening of the daily session. He briefly sketched the previous year's budget and its provisions, and the financial history of the year. It had been signalized by the commercial treaty with France, by the removal of great national burdens, by the abolition of the last protective duty from the system; it had been a year of the largest expenditure that had occurred in the time of peace, while it was characterized by an unparalleled severity of the seasons. The apparent deficiency was £2,559,000; but certain deductions reduced this to an actual deficiency of £221,000. We need not here recount the various taxes which were held, by their reduction or abolition, to have brought about this deficit; we may barely say that Mr. Gladstone, in contrasting the revenue of this year with that of 1853, when there had been another such change in the sources from which the income of the state was derived, while he did not attempt to deny that the revenue was not so elastic in the latter case as in the earlier, contended that this was due in some part to the vast increase in the expenditure, which was full twenty millions sterling greater than it had been seven years before.

Mr. Gladstone next proceeded to show that the legislation of the past year, especially that relating to the treaty with France, had not been without a salutary effect; for though times were hard, and many of the people without employment, that was owing to the unexampled harvest. He commended the efforts which the French Ministry had made to fulfill their part of the treaty, and again adverted to the service which Mr. Cobden had performed in negotiating it.

The estimated revenue for the ensuing year was so considerably in excess of the estimated expenditure that the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that it was proposed to remit the additional penny of the Income Tax which had been imposed the year before. Under the magic wand of the great financial en-



Gladstone Attacking Disraeli's First Budget, in 1852.

Of this speech, a writer of the time said: "Among those who ought to be judges there is an almost unanimous opinion that, take it for all in all, this was the very best speech Mr. Gladstone ever made. As we now know, he was conscious that he had a pleasant surprise in store for those hearers who had come to listen to a woeful palinode, and there was a lurking sense of triumph over his avowed opponents, and still more over his skin-deep friends, which gave a lightness and buoyancy to his demeanor which of course spread to his audience. It even gave a raciness to his occasional flights of humor. His quotations were happy and neatly introduced, and that in Latin was loudly cheered by the gentlemen below the gangway, probably because, they not understanding it, it had a great effect upon them. But the chief merit of the speech, in reference to its object, was the remarkable dexterity with which it appealed to the tastes, feelings, and opinions of the House. At one sentence, delivered with his face half turned to the benches behind, Mr. Bright would break out into an involuntary cheer, at once both natural and hearty; while the very next moment the orator would lean, with a fascinating smile on his countenance, over the table to the gentlemen opposite, and minister to their weaknesses or prejudices with equal power and success. * * * * * In every possible respect it was a masterpiece of oratory; and as it in the result actually led to something tangible—that is to say, to a surplus and a reduction of taxation—it was in every sense triumphant."

But this triumphant eloquence was not received by the House without a protest from the Opposition. Although the budget was generally regarded in a very favorable light, Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Baring, Lord Robert Montagu, Sir Stafford Northcote, and others on the Conservative benches, warmly opposed it. Bentinck and Montagu, indeed, undertook several times during the session the task of demolishing the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It would appear that they did not succeed.

Mr. Gladstone defended his scheme in detail against these attacks, and demanded that a division should take the place of long debates; but the opposition to the budget did not assume that definite form.

The Government had determined to present the budget as a whole to the House; not, as was usual, in the form of separate propositions, which might be separately discussed, and meet with

different fates in case of divisions. This was bitterly opposed by the Conservatives, who knew that their only chance lay with some of the less popular features, not with the measure as a whole. The Opposition charged that this was done with the intent of compelling the Lords to assent to the abolition of the paper duty; and at the second reading, May 13th, the whole battle was fought over again. Sir James Graham was the most powerful defender of the Government in the early part of this section of the debate. His speech was followed by what was perhaps the most violent personal attack which, up to that time, had ever been made upon Mr. Gladstone; the speaker was Lord Robert Cecil (afterward Marquis of Salisbury). The budget was a personal one, he said; they had no guarantee for it but the promises of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and experience had taught them that he was not a financier who was always to be relied upon. At this stage of his speech, he was interrupted by loud cries of "Oh! Oh!", and it was some time before he could again make himself heard. He had already described the policy of the Government as worthy only of a country attorney; but now he thought that he had done injustice to the attorneys. Again interrupted by the cries of his colleagues, he went on, when order had been restored, to characterize the course which the Ministry had pursued as one distinguished by all the ingenuity of legal chicane—a dodge. Americanized finance was to be a consequence of Americanized institutions; with much more to the same effect.

Mr. Gladstone made no answer to this at the time; nor, indeed, did he ever make any direct and extended reply to this bitter personal attack. Speaking on the same subject a few days later, he referred to the fact that personal matters had been introduced in the course of the debate, which he thought it best to pass by without comment; but legitimate criticisms upon his plan he would endeavor to meet. Whatever may be the censure passed upon the "Grand Old Man," he was never accused of vituperation, or unkindly treatment of those who had exposed themselves to the terrors of that eloquence which might have been so sharp a weapon against them. His opposition was always to measures, not to men; and his enemies received as courteous treatment as his friends.

Whatever change the proposed plan might make in the Constitution, he said, was one fully justified by the necessity of the

case, and by precedent. Mr. Horsman had declared that it gave a mortal stab to the Constitution. Mr. Gladstone thought that the Constitution would be all the better for the operation. In regard to the Constitution as Mr. Horsman understood and explained it, with that division of responsibility which most effectually did away with all responsibility, Mr. Gladstone thought that the sooner it received a mortal stab the better.

Mr. Gladstone's colleague in the representation of the University of Oxford, and the Chairman of the Committee of Precedents, both prominent Conservatives, approved of the course which he recommended as strictly constitutional; and in spite of Mr. Disraeli's active opposition, the bill was read the second time.

The discussion upon the repeal of the paper duty on this second reading was the most critical stage at which the bill had yet arrived; and in some quarters the fall of the Government was confidently predicted. Among those who spoke upon this occasion were Lord Palmerston, Mr. Gladstone, Lord John Russell, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Baring. The question finally came to a division, the result of which was waited for with great anxiety. It showed a majority for the Government of fifteen, five hundred and seventy-seven votes being cast. The rejection of the bill was moved in the House of Lords, but the motion was, upon the advice of the Earl of Derby, who seemed to be something of Viscount Palmerston's opinion about the action of the Lords on this subject, not pressed; and the bill became law.

The subject of the Ionian Islands again came up in this session, and Mr. Gladstone replied to the member who had demanded information about them. The information was withheld by the Government, who did not think it prudent to make all the circumstances public at that time and the conciliatory speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer caused the motion to be withdrawn.

The budget for 1862 was of less interest than those which Mr. Gladstone had previously presented for the consideration of the House. There were certain reasons for a decreased income. One of these was the depression arising from lack of cotton; for those were the days when the Confederates were asserting "Cotton is King," and seemed to have a fair hope of convincing neutral nations of the truth of their statement. But the treaty with France had accomplished all that was hoped from it; and al-

though there would be no remission of taxation, there would be no new duties imposed.

Mr. Disraeli attacked this budget, with what he called a historical survey of the finances of recent years; and Sir Stafford Northcote examined it closely; but these criticisms were fully answered by Mr. Gladstone, to the satisfaction of the Liberals, as the result of the voting made evident.

As in the previous session, there was an attack made by Sir George Bowyer upon the Government and people of Italy. To this, as before, Mr. Gladstone replied, though Bowyer's speech commanded little or no sympathy from the House. "Bowyer's unrivalled capacity for ignoring the march of events was undeniable," says one writer; and he repeated the same arguments which he had used a year ago, and heard them seconded, as before, by Mr. Hennessy. Mr. Gladstone's powerful speech began with a statement of the reception which Garibaldi had met with at Naples, and argued that where an army of 80,000 men had melted away like snow before a handful of red-shirted volunteers, the people could not be said to be very warmly attached to their king. On the other hand, it was maintained that Italy was not a kingdom, because it had not been recognized as such by any of the European Powers except England and France. To this Mr. Gladstone retorted that a kingdom which had secured the recognition of those Governments had made very considerable progress. When the cheers which greeted this sally had subsided, Mr. Gladstone proceeded to speak of the occupation of Rome, which he deprecated, although he desired to see the Pope's temporal power abolished.

Turning from the English feeling and opinion regarding Italy, which were fairly expressed by Mr. Gladstone's voice in this instance, we come to regard the English attitude with relation to the affairs of America. The engagements of Manassas and Shiloh had been favorable to the Confederates; other battles, of less note, had followed, in which the success had frequently been on the other side. At this time, however, the palm remained with the Southern States; it was not until the middle of 1863 when the tide was finally turned, that it became evident to clear-sighted onlookers that the South was doomed to inevitable defeat. There had been many collisions between the British and American Governments, when the direction of affairs at Washington was largely in the hands of Southern men; and the Lincoln Ad-

ministration hoped, for that reason, to secure the unshaken friendship of the English. But these conflicts were remembered at London as differences with Americans, undistinguished by sections ; and British Government did many things which even a friend of the South cannot consider strictly impartial. We pass over the course pursued with regard to those Confederate commissioners to London and Paris, who were forcibly taken, by a United States man-of-war, from under the protection of a neutral flag ; for President Lincoln was the first to condemn the action of the officer who made the seizure, on the same grounds on which the American Government had resisted the right of British men-of-war to seize men from under the American flag, previous to the war of 1812, which was fought to decide that principle. But the action of the British Government in allowing privateers for the Confederate service to be fitted out in British ports was an unmistakable evidence of the popular feeling.

It is not our purpose to enter upon an extended indictment of the English people or the authorities constituted by them, for the attitude assumed during the American Civil War. We have only to note the opinion which Mr. Gladstone held, having already shown what was the standpoint of his colleagues and their constituents. In a speech at Newcastle he expressed the decided conviction that Jefferson Davis had already succeeded in making the Confederate States into a nation. As a member of the Ministry of a neutral country, he was undoubtedly indiscreet in saying so ; but the success with which the Confederate arms had met seems certainly to have justified him in thinking so. Writing to a correspondent in New York, five years later, he said : "I must confess that I was wrong ; that I took too much upon myself in expressing such an opinion. Yet the motive was not bad. My sympathies were then, as they are now, with the whole American people. I, probably, like many Europeans, did not understand the nature and working of the American Union. I had imbibed conscientiously, if erroneously, an opinion that twenty or twenty-four millions of the North would be happier, and would be stronger (of course assuming that they would hold together) without the South than with it, and also that the negroes would be much nearer to emancipation under a Southern Government than under the old system of the Union, which had not at that date (August, 1862) been abandoned, and which always appeared to me to place the whole power of the North at the com-

mand of the slave-holding interests of the South. As far as regards the special or separate interests of England in the matter, I, differing from many others, had always contended that it was best for our interests that the Union should be kept entire."

To retrace our steps a few months, there had occurred, in December, 1861, an event which exerted a considerable influence upon the English court. How far the death of the Prince Con-



Prince Albert.

sort affected the history of the country, it is idle to speculate; but he so frequently took occasion to express his admiration of Mr. Gladstone and the measures which he proposed, that it is not improbable that, had the Prince Consort lived, the Queen would not have imbibed her well-known dislike for the foremost Liberal statesman of her reign. On the other hand, it can hardly be said with certainty that the Prince would always have ap-

proved the course which Mr. Gladstone has taken, tending as it has to enhance the rights of the people to a greater degree than the prerogatives of the Crown, as well as to increased liberality of sentiment.

The session of 1863 promised little of interest. The budget was the chief topic of discussion, and that did not reach the point in men's minds which had been filled by some of its more notable predecessors. A considerable surplus of income over expenditure having become a certainty, speculation was rife as to how it should be employed. In accordance with the dictates of public opinion, Mr. Gladstone recommended the reduction of the Income Tax and the abolition of the war duties on sugar and tea. The causes which gave peculiar interest to the financial statements of the last few years were not such, Mr. Gladstone said in the speech in which he introduced the budget, as it was desirable should be permanent; and with this apology for the tameness of the plans which he had to propose, and the statements which he had to make, the right honorable gentleman proceeded to state the case. His speech of three hours contains nothing more interesting than his tribute to Lancashire, that great northern county in the metropolis of which he first saw the light. It will be remembered that at this time the factory-hands of England were suffering severely from the effects of the American war, which deprived them of the larger part of their cotton supply. Nearly two millions of persons had been thrown out of employment, and fully half a million were at this time wholly dependent upon charity. From the Queen to the agricultural laborer, who could hardly spare from his own necessities the occasional half-penny which he gave, the charity of the nation flowed in upon these unfortunates; but there was a vast amount of distress which could not be relieved. But the burden had been borne manfully, and so Mr. Gladstone knew, when he said:

“Towards that Lancashire, to which up to this time every Englishman has referred, if not with pride, yet with satisfaction and thankfulness, as among the most remarkable, or perhaps the most remarkable of all the symbols that could be presented of the power, the progress, and the prosperity of England—towards that Lancashire we feel now more warmly and more thankfully than ever in regard to every moral aspect of its condition. The lessons which within the past twelve months have been con-

veyed, if in one aspect they have been painful and even bitter, yet in other aspects, and those too, which more intimately and permanently relate to the condition and prospects of the country, have been lessons such as I will venture to say none of us could have hoped to learn. For however sanguine may have been the anticipations entertained as to the enduring power and pluck of the English people, I do not think that any one could have estimated that power of endurance, that patience, that true magnanimity in humble life, at a point as high as we now see that it has actually reached."

Unfortunately, this unexpected power of endurance was to be yet more fully tested; for cotton had risen from 8*d.* per pound to 2*s.* The blockade had not been raised, and there was no cotton to export if it had been—that is, in amounts considerable enough to make any material difference to England; and India and Egypt, which have since entered into the competition, were not yet fully equipped for the contest. Another cause of depression was the condition of Ireland, which was, as usual, worse than it had ever been before; the products being one-third less than they had been seven years previous.

The remission of the tea duty and the income tax were very popular with the country; and the budget generally was more acceptable to the House as a whole than any other had been for a number of years. Mr. Disraeli even had not a word to say against it, but rose and left the House as soon as Mr. Gladstone had finished his speech.

The one proposition which aroused formidable hostility was that provision by which charities were no longer exempt from the Income Tax. One of the largest and most influential delegations that ever waited upon a Minister of the State endeavored to persuade Mr. Gladstone that this course was unjust and impolitic. The Duke of Cambridge and the Archbishop of Canterbury headed the deputation, to which Mr. Gladstone replied that he would state the reasons for the course recommended by the Government to the House of Commons, and that upon the decision of the Commons the question should rest. He accordingly addressed the House the same evening, showing that many of the charities which would be taxed were of such a nature as to work a real injury in character to those whom they professed to benefit, and that the measure was eminently a just one. The whole Ministry had agreed that it was a proper course to be pur-

sued, but the sense of the House was so largely against it that the scheme was withdrawn by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

At a later period, an amendment to the proposition regarding the Income Tax was introduced, providing that this duty should fall upon the net income of invested property, and the net amount of industrial earnings, which latter should be subject to such an abatement as would equitably adjust the burden thrown upon intelligence and skill as compared with property. This amendment, the substance of which was regularly brought forward whenever the Income Tax came up for discussion, and which had in this instance been negatived by the committee which had first considered it, was rejected by a considerable majority.

Viewed from a standpoint of entire religious freedom, it is curious to note that in the year 1863, the British Parliament should seriously be asked to pass a law enabling Dissenters to be buried in the common cemeteries without the rites of the Church of England being performed over the bodies. Yet so it was. Nor was it a mere act of tardy justice, the repeal of a law which had become a dead letter, and was therefore unanimously decreed should remain no longer upon the statute book; there was active opposition to it, and it was finally rejected by a vote of 221 to 96.

Mr. Gladstone felt the anomaly, and did not hesitate to express himself freely. In his speech upon the subject, he said: "I do not see that there is sufficient reason, or indeed, any reason at all, why, after having granted, and most properly granted, to the entire community the power of professing and practicing what form of religion they please during life, you should say to themselves or their relatives, when dead, 'We will at the last lay our hands upon you, and will not permit you to enjoy the privilege of being buried in the church-yard, where, perhaps, the ashes of your ancestors repose, or, at any rate, in the place of which you are parishioners, unless you appear there as members of the Church of England, and as members of that Church, have her services read over your remains.' That appears to me an inconsistency and an anomaly in the present state of the law, and is in the nature of a grievance."

It was by such utterances as this that Mr. Gladstone first created, and then widened, that breach between himself and his constituency at Oxford, which ended in his failure to be re-

elected. In some cases, it would appear, it is an honor to fail.

On but one other occasion did Mr. Gladstone, during this session, engage in a debate of any importance; and the interest attaching to that discussion rather arises from the fact that the Government was defeated by a considerable majority, than from any inherent value it may have for us. The proposition was made to appropriate a considerable sum, in addition to that which had already been voted for the purchase of the ground, for the buildings of the International Exhibition which had been held at South Kensington. Lord Palmerston being kept away from the House by illness, the duty of bringing this bill before the House devolved upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who pointed out that the Government was under the necessity of providing suitable accommodations for the Portrait Gallery, the Patent Museum, and the Natural History Collections of the British Museum, and that this was the only opportunity that offered. Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Lowe were both anxious to express their approval of this scheme of the Government, but neither of them could obtain a hearing, so great was the confusion in the House, the Independent members of which surprised both the Government and the Opposition by their attitude upon this question. Although the majority against the Government was an overwhelming one, the question was not of sufficient importance to warrant its being regarded as a vote of no confidence; and the defeat was therefore passed over as a matter of small moment.

The budget of 1864 was brought before the House in April. It was well known that there was a considerable surplus, and there was much interest manifested in the disposition of this sum. It proved to be somewhat larger than even the most sanguine had anticipated—more than two millions sterling when the expenses of fortifications had been allowed for. Mr. Gladstone's statement of the condition of the national finances commanded the same flattering attention which had been accorded to him on similar occasions previously, the House being packed in every part, with the members, peers, foreign ministers, and other distinguished visitors crowding the places assigned to them.

The prosperity of the country was indicated by the trade statistics which he brought forward, and pauperism was shown to be no greater, outside of Lancashire, which was still suffering for cotton, than was usual. The estimated income and expendi-

ture for the ensuing year showed, upon comparison, that there would then be a considerable surplus. It was the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to order the taxation in such a way that this surplus would be returned to the tax-payers, by the re-



Receiving News of the Ministerial Crisis.

duction of certain duties. To do this required a readjustment of the taxes according to the best calculations possible, and even then it was not within human power to foretell what the actual result would prove to be. The tax on sugar was to be reduced, and also that on fire insurance; and the Income Tax was to be

one penny less on each pound than it had been. The budget was most favorably received, and although there were notices given of opposition on some minor points, all the propositions were finally carried without a division.

A third measure which was conceived in the special interest of the working-classes was brought forward this session by Mr. Gladstone. This was a bill to amend the law relating to the purchase of Government annuities through the medium of savings-banks, and to enable the granting of life insurances by the Government. During his long public life, Mr. Gladstone said in the debate on this question, he had never received so many letters as he had upon this measure, from various classes of the community, all expressing their approval of the bill, and their gratitude for it. Although this was the outside estimate of it, the House was by no means so unanimous, and there were many who inveighed against the evils of a paternal government. After the defeat of an amendment which was directed against the whole scheme, the bill was referred to a select committee, by which it was favorably reported back, with a few minor changes recommended, and finally it passed both Houses, being warmly supported by many of both parties.

It was during this session that Mr. Baines brought forward his bill for lowering the borough franchise; and Mr. Gladstone startled the House, and ultimately his constituents and the country, by his utterances upon the subject of Reform. His words evince so clearly the advanced liberalism of his views, and are so applicable, not only to English affairs of that time, but to the labor troubles of the present, that we make no apology for quoting them:

“We are told that the working-class don't agitate; but is it desirable that we should wait until they do agitate? In my opinion, agitation by the working-classes upon any political subject whatever is a thing not to be waited for, not to be made a condition previous to any Parliamentary movement, but, on the contrary, is to be deprecated, and, if possible, prevented by wise and provident measures. An agitation by the working-classes is not like an agitation by the classes above them having leisure. The agitation of the classes having leisure is easily conducted. Every hour of their time has not a money value; their wives and children are not dependent on the application of those hours to labor. When a working-man finds himself in such a

condition that he must abandon that daily labor on which he is strictly dependent for his daily bread, it is only because then, in railway language, the danger signal is turned on, and because he feels a strong necessity for action, and a distrust of the rulers who have driven him to that necessity. The present state of things, I rejoice to say, does not indicate that distrust; but if we admit that, we must not allege the absence of agitation on the part of the working-classes as a reason why the Parliament of England and the public mind of England should be indisposed to entertain the discussion of this question."

The resolution was defeated, but the majority was not a very large one, and Mr. Gladstone's speech was thought at the time to have influenced many who would otherwise have voted against it. The expression of such opinions went far to restore confidence in the Ministry which had come into office pledged to Reform, but which had become divided in itself upon that very subject.

July 4th, Mr. Disraeli proposed a resolution censuring the Government for its foreign policy, particularly in connection with the war then in progress between Germany and Denmark. This was the highest point which the hostility to the Government had yet reached, and Mr. Disraeli was loudly cheered by his political friends as he spoke in support of his motion. It fell to the lot of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to reply to the leader of the Opposition, and his eloquent speech was the opening of a protracted debate. The motion was so worded that, as Mr. Gladstone expressed it, it could not transfix the Government without first passing through the honor of England.

An amusing feature of this debate was the speech of Mr. Bernal Osborne, in which he compared the Cabinet to a collection of birds of rare and noble plumage, some alive, some stuffed. Unfortunately, he said, there had been a difficulty in keeping up the breed, and it had been found necessary to cross it with the famous Peelites. The honorable member continued: "I will do them the justice to say that they have a very great and able Minister among them in the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and it is to his measures alone that they owe the little popularity and the little support that they get from this Liberal Party." Mr. Gibson, he said, was like the fly in amber, as the wonder was "how the devil he got there;" and he proposed, as an epitaph for the soon-to-be-defunct Ministry, "Rest and be Thankful."

Although the inscription for the mausoleum was thus kindly furnished in advance, there was no immediate use for it, as a division showed that the Ministers had a majority of eighteen.

The Opposition had done its best to defeat the Ministry, and had failed ; it is then without surprise that we learn that there were no more debates of interest during the remainder of the session. The session of 1865 affords us but one clear view of the central figure of our narrative, excepting, of course, his official speech as Chancellor of the Exchequer. In March of this year Mr. Dillwyn moved a resolution affirming that the state of the Irish Church was unsatisfactory, and called for the early attention of her Majesty's Government. After several speeches, Mr. Gladstone rose and entered into a full examination of the question of the Irish Church. He frankly admitted that its state was unsatisfactory, but said that having regard to the difficulties which stood in the way of removing the anomalies it presented, he could not support the resolution. This declaration, to which subsequent events gave great significance, intimated that Mr. Gladstone, who had always been regarded as a firm supporter of the Irish as well as of the English Church, believed that the days of the former institution were numbered ; and that its disestablishment was only a question of time. This declaration carried consternation not only into the Conservative ranks but into those of the Government, and caused him to be regarded as the leader of the party which favored the disestablishment of the Irish Church. The opinions of Mr. Gladstone had more significance at this time than they had ever had before ; for it was upon his shoulders that the mantle of the leader must soon descend. Lord Palmerston was now past his eightieth year, Earl Russell, who had in 1861 ceased to bear the courtesy title of Lord John, by which he had long been known, was considerably past seventy. The Premier could not long retain the reins of office, and then Mr. Gladstone must succeed to the leadership of the House or of the Opposition, as the case might be. In any event, whether the present Ministry retained office or not, the Liberal leader would have much to do with the question of the Irish Church.

Mr. Baines again brought forward his measure during this session for the reduction of the Franchise. Sir George Grey, speaking on behalf of his colleagues in the Cabinet, maintained that they had fulfilled their pledges, but declined to make any promises for the next session. Mr. Gladstone sat by in silence

during the debate. It was reported at the time that his colleagues had exacted from him a promise not to speak on the subject; but this has been authoritatively denied. Certainly such a promise could do little good, in view of the emphatic words which he had used in support of the proposed measure a year before.

The budget of the year showed a considerable decrease in the distress which had existed for some time past; and the termination of the American Civil War gave reason to hope that there would not again be a scarcity of that staple of manufactures which was now being in some measure supplied by India and Egypt. Reductions of taxation amounting to nearly five and a half millions sterling were proposed; and the Chancellor assured the House that there would still be a surplus at the disposal of the Government.

The close of the session saw great irregularity in the number of members present at different times; for a general election was rapidly approaching, and the representatives of the people frequently had occasion to leave their seats in Parliament to address their constituents. There were few or no measures of importance, the one of most general interest being the attack upon Lord Chancellor Westbury, originating in the House of Lords, but finally carried to the House of Commons, and resulting in his resignation.

Parliament would expire by limitation that summer, and it was accordingly prorogued, with a view to immediate dissolution, early in July. The Conservatives looked for immense gains, basing their hopes upon some victories which they had recently obtained. The Liberals seem to have been doubtful as to the result. But the result for which one had hoped, and the other had feared, was not to be; the Conservatives had been far too sanguine.

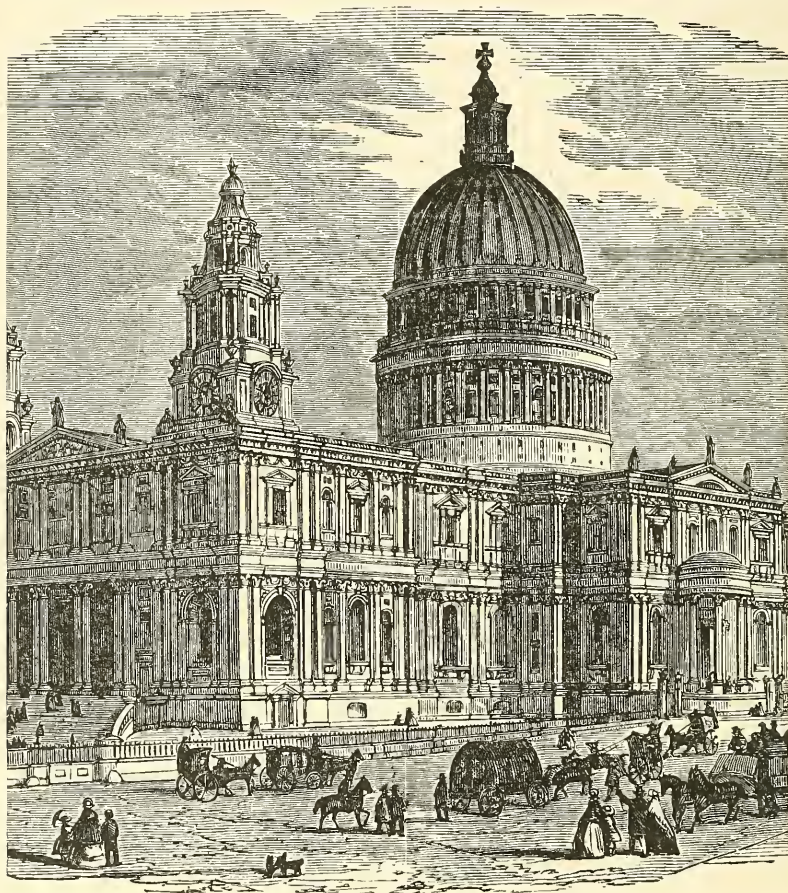
To turn from the general aspect to that which more nearly concerns the hero of our biography, is a duty which now becomes especially imperative. Of all the elections of this period the one which excited the most intense interest was that for the University of Oxford, where Mr. Gladstone was opposed by Mr. Gathorne Hardy. Mr. Gladstone was there recognized as an able man, it is true; but he was thought too brilliant to be entirely safe. No such intellectual pre-eminence has ever been claimed for his opponent in this contest, as a historian of the

time naively observes. Certainly, Mr. Gladstone's advanced Liberalism was extremely distasteful to the Tories of Oxford, whom he was supposed to represent. In anticipation of his defeat there, which was not considered improbable even by his friends, arrangements were made for bringing him forward for South Lancashire at once. It is a somewhat singular phase of the question, that his Liberal friends were as desirous that he should be defeated at Oxford as the most vehement Tory could be.

Finding that the seat was in danger, when the polling had continued for four of the five days, the chairman of the committee which had Mr. Gladstone's interests in charge issued a circular to the electors who were still unpledged, pressing upon them the duty of recording their votes for the Chancellor of the Exchequer. "The Committee do not scruple to advocate his cause on grounds above the common level of politics," said this document. "They claim for him the gratitude due to one whose public life has for eighteen years reflected a lustre upon the University herself. They confidently invite you to consider whether his pure and exalted character, his splendid abilities, and his eminent services to Church and State, do not constitute the highest of all qualifications for an academical seat, and entitle him to be judged by his constituents as he will assuredly be judged by posterity." Among the voters who endorsed this document by their action, taken before or after its appearance, were some of the men whose names are most splendid in the roll of modern scholars. Keble and Pusey, Alford and Stanley, Wilberforce and Farrar, Palgrave and Freeman, Max Muller, and a host of others whom we have not space to record, upheld the scholarly financier as their choice. It was not academic Oxford which defeated him—for defeated he was—but the vast body of outsiders who had votes.

The Thunderer launched its stately sentences against the institution of learning which had thus rejected as its representative a man of Mr. Gladstone's distinction as a scholar; and added to its fulminations against Oxford the assurance that "henceforth Mr. Gladstone will belong to the country, but no longer to the University. Those Oxford influences and traditions which have so long colored his views, and so greatly interfered with his better judgment, must gradually lose their hold upon him." To the words of the *Times* the crisper sentences of the *Daily News*, the chief Liberal organ, were a fitting echo;

“The late Sir Robert Peel was but the chief of a party, until admonished by one ostracism, he finally became emancipated by another. It is thus that men rise from opposition to greater effort, and the instances are not few in which by facing public



Cathedral of St. Paul—London.

scorn they have risen to a higher plane, and have rendered their names illustrious—names that might have been almost buried in oblivion but for the ostracism they were compelled to suffer. Not every one is able to learn wisdom from past experiences. Then, as now, the statesman who was destined to give up to mankind what was never meant for the barren service of a

party, could say to those honest bigots who thus rejected him :

“I banish you ;
There is a world elsewhere.”

As soon as it became evident that he would be defeated at Oxford, Mr. Gladstone hastened down to Lancashire, and lost no time in presenting himself as a candidate for the southern division of that county, where three Conservatives and two Liberals were already in nomination for the three seats. It was on Tuesday, the day of the great Manchester weekly market, that he arrived there, and the exchange of the city was crowded, as usual, by the merchants and manufacturers, not only of Manchester, but of all the populous district surrounding the cotton metropolis of Britain. About three o'clock it was announced that Mr. Gladstone was in Manchester ; that he had come forward as a candidate for the representation of the southern division of the county ; and that he was about to deliver an address to the electors in the great room of Free Trade Hall. In a few moments that immense room was packed by an eager audience, the enthusiasm of which was raised to the highest pitch. In that silvery voice which was not the least charm of his oratory, the famous statesman began his speech, asking these constituents, for the first time, for their suffrages. They heard one sentence ; it was enough to make their self-restraint no longer endurable.

“At last, my friends, I am come among you ; and I am come—to use an expression which has become very famous, and is not likely to be forgotten—I am come among you *unmuzzled*.”

The shout that arose as soon as these words were uttered was the expression of the Liberal triumph in the acquisition of such a leader from the enemy. From that time, the last tie was severed that had bound the great statesman to the party of his early youth ; from that time he was only to grow into wider and deeper sympathy with the people of England, with the cause of human liberty. No longer trammelled by the thought of what was due to his constituents, when he would have spoken freely on the great questions which were awaiting solution, he was now representing men whose ideas, like his own, were in fuller accordance with the progressive spirit of the age.

CHAPTER IX.

REPRESENTING SOUTH LANCASHIRE.

Love for the University—Address to the Electors of Liverpool—Popularity in the Large Towns—Death of Lord Palmerston—Grave Concern Over the Irish Troubles—Old Question of Church Rates—Criticism of the Reform Bill—“Cave of Adullam”—Extension of the Franchise—Gladstone’s Victory—Speeches in Scotland—Ministry Formed by Earl Derby—A New Reform Bill—Raising Income for the Government—Public Comment on Mr. Gladstone—Scotch and Irish Affairs—The Irish Church—Majority for the Liberals—Various Bills in the Commons.



R. GLADSTONE could hardly be said to have been elected by an overwhelming majority; for he was third on the list of the six candidates for the three seats. But the majority of the votes cast were for Conservatives; for his new colleagues both belonged to that party, and the fourth on the list was also a supporter of the Opposition. This renders his election the more remarkable tribute to the man, independent of parties.

That emancipation from the thralldom of the University’s demands was not an unmixed joy to Mr. Gladstone, however it may have been welcomed by his friends. In that very speech, the first sentence of which had been so enthusiastically cheered, he said:

“I have loved the University with a deep and passionate love, and as long as I breathe, that attachment will continue; if my affection is of the smallest advantage to that great, that ancient, that noble institution, that advantage, such as it is—and it is most insignificant—Oxford will possess as long as I live. But don’t mistake the issue which has been raised. The University has at length, after eighteen years of self-denial, been drawn by what I might, perhaps, call an overweening exercise of power, into the vortex of mere politics. Well, you will readily understand why, as long as I had a hope that the zeal and kindness of my friends might keep me in my place, it was impossible for me to abandon them. Could they have returned me by a majority of

one, painful as it is to a man of my time of life, and feeling the weight of public cares, to be incessantly struggling for his seat, nothing could have induced me to quit that University to which I had so long ago devoted my best care and attachment. But by no act of mine, I am free to come among you. And having been thus set free, I need hardly tell you that it is with joy, with thankfulness and enthusiasm, that I now, at this eleventh hour, a candidate without an address, make my appeal to the heart and the mind of South Lancashire, and ask you to pronounce upon that appeal. As I have said, I am aware of no cause for the votes which have given a majority against me in the University of Oxford, except the fact that the strongest conviction that the human mind can receive, that an overpowering sense of the public interests, that the practical teachings of experience, to which from my youth Oxford herself taught me to lay open my mind, all these had shown me the folly, and I will say, the madness of refusing to join in the generous sympathies of my countrymen, by adopting what I may call an obstructive policy."

In an address to the electors of Liverpool, he felicitously referred to the peculiar features of the two constituencies.

"We see represented in that ancient institution—represented more nobly, perhaps, and more conspicuously than in any other place, at any rate with more remarkable concentration—the most prominent features which relate to the past of England. I come into South Lancashire, and I find around me an assemblage of different phenomena. I find development of industry; I find growth of enterprise; I find progress of social philanthropy; I find prevalence of toleration; and I find an ardent desire for freedom * * * * I have honestly, I have earnestly, although I may have feebly, striven to unite in my insignificant person that which is represented by Oxford and that which is represented by Lancashire. My desire is that they should know and love one another. If I have clung to the representation of the University with desperate fondness, it is because I would not desert that post in which I seem to have been placed. I have not abandoned it. I have been dismissed from it, not by academical, but by political agencies. I don't complain of those political influences by which I have been displaced. The free constitutional spirit of the country requires that the voice of the majority should prevail. I hope that the voice of the majority will pre-

vail in South Lancashire. I do not for a moment complain that it should have prevailed in Oxford. But, gentlemen, I come now to ask you a question, whether, because I have been declared unfit longer to serve the University on account of my political position, there is anything in that position, there is anything in what I have said and done, in the arduous office which I hold, which is to unfit me for the representation of my native county?"

Mr. Gladstone's strength, as shown by this election, lay in the large towns rather than in the country boroughs; for in Liverpool, Manchester, and all the other towns in this portion of the county, his name stood at the head of the poll. We shall look to see him, then representing the sentiments of the Liberals of the cities, rather than the more modified sentiments which are usual in the English country districts, which are largely Conservative.

But although the hands of the Ministry were strengthened by considerable Liberal gains in this general election, contrary to the expectations of both parties, it had met with a severe loss in the death of one of its ablest supporters. This was Richard Cobden, who had been named "The Apostle of Free trade." He was not a member of the Cabinet, for he had declined the appointment which Palmerston had offered him, on account of his opposition to the Premier's ideas regarding the foreign policy to be pursued; but his closest political ally, Mr. Milner Gibson, had accepted the post which Cobden declined, and it was understood that this was nearly equivalent to his taking office himself. He died early in April, 1865. While his loss was severely felt by the Liberals, it was still more a blow to that little band of Radicals of whom he was really the foremost member, though the polished sauvity of his manner, contrasted with the abrupt force of Bright, gave most persons the impression that he was rather more conservative than his great comrade. To the sturdy Quaker personally it was a severe blow; and his tribute to his friend, spoken too soon after that friend's death to be esteemed a formal memorial address, is one of the most pathetic of its kind: "After a close friendship of many years, I never knew how much I loved him till I lost him." And the strong, firm-set man sat down and wept, regardless of the gaze of his colleagues.

The death of Cobden had occurred during the session of 1865. Before Parliament was again called together, there was another vacancy in the ranks of the Liberal party—the man who was

nominally at its head, by reason of the position which he had held. Lord Palmerston was nearly eighty-one, but although he had occasionally been kept from the House by attacks of the gout, he was far more regular in his attendance there than many a younger man. While Premier, he underwent an amount of work which at his age seemed phenomenal; and all the strength and sprightliness of his character were maintained to the last. He died after an illness of six days, in the latter part of October. There was but one man whom public opinion named as him to whom the vacant post of right belonged. Earl Russell the former opponent, the recent associate, of the dead Premier, was appointed by the Queen the First Minister of the Crown. His age, his great services, his high reputation, his honorable character, made his claims generally admitted. Five years before, the Prime Minister would have been the leader of the House of Commons; but the courtesy title had given place to one borne by right, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer succeeded to the first rank in the lower branch of the national councils. It may here be noted, in explanation of the apparent anomaly of Palmerston's being in the House of Commons, that he was an Irish Peer, and as such not entitled to a seat in the House of Lords unless elected to it by the whole body of Irish Peers.

The death of Lord Palmerston removed all doubt as to what the Ministry would do upon the subject of Reform. But before entering upon this much vexed question, it will perhaps be best to consider briefly some other subjects which came before Parliament this session. Having thus cleared the stage, the progress of that great political drama can be watched without interruption.

The budget was introduced May 3rd, during a suspension of the hostilities then raging in regard to the Government's Reform Bill. There was a surplus of sufficient magnitude to warrant certain reductions of duties. The duty on timber was to be abolished, as well as that on pepper; and the duty on wine in bottles and that on wine in wood were to be equalized. Certain changes were recommended in the duties on locomotion; but in recommending these changes the right honorable gentleman took care not to add to the burdens of the middle and lower classes. The tea duties were to be renewed, and the Income Tax was to be 4*d.* in the pound. The National Debt had been reduced from £18,000,000 in 1858 to £8,267,000, and the time for further reduction

was most favorable. These provisions met with little opposition. A proposition to convert a portion of the National Debt into terminable annuities was made the subject of a separate bill, which did not pass beyond the second reading, owing to the changes which took place during the session.

Mr. Gladstone had visited Glasgow in the autumn of 1865, and had been, with due formalities, presented with the freedom of the city. He had then spoken most feelingly of the loss which the country had recently sustained in the death of a statesman like Palmerston. He was now called upon, by the duties of his position as Leader of the House, for an official utterance. The subject was an address to the Queen, praying her to order the erection of a monument to the late Premier in Westminster Abbey. His eulogy was a masterly analysis of the character of his late chief. He was followed by Mr. Disraeli, who added another tribute to the memory of the popular Minister.

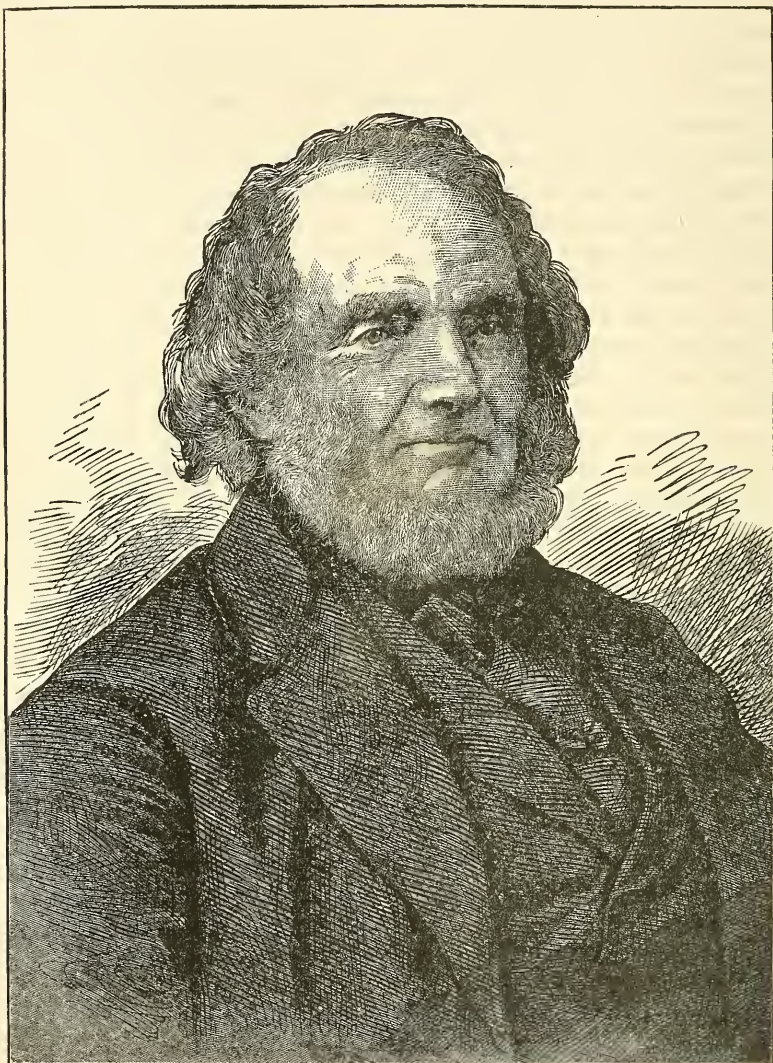
The Irish troubles which had recently arisen, or rather grown from their normal condition, demand some share of attention. Those who had emigrated to America in consequence of the famine of 1846-7, and some who had been banished on account of the part which they had taken in the insurrection of the following year, had not been without warm affection for the country which they had thus been compelled to leave. The result had been an organization which originated in the United States—but which was by no means confined to that country—designed to establish a republic in Ireland. The cessation of the Civil War had given the Fenians a considerable accession of dangerous assistants by releasing from their sworn duty to the United States or the Confederate States a number of disciplined veterans, whose experience enabled them to train others for military service. In addition to this, certain plans had been formed for seducing the Irish soldiers in the British army from their allegiance. At first the movement had seemed to be wildly impracticable; the end at which they were aiming seemed as little possible as the origin which they claimed, from some forgotten national militia of Ireland, four hundred years before Christ. But the British Government soon found that the visionary character of its claims and its hopes was not all there was of it. Fenianism was a real danger menacing British rule in Ireland; the greater, perhaps, because the priests, whose counsels had generally been for moderation and patience, were carefully excluded from the control of this

organization and from knowledge of its movements. The Government was driven to propose a bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in that country. This measure was violently opposed by Mr. Bright, who seems to have seen something of the wrong which the Fenians were striving to undo. He called upon the "two great and trusted leaders," Gladstone and Disraeli, to throw aside all animosity for the time, and unite in some measure which would bring peace to Ireland. The cause of the discontent should be found, and a remedy applied; there was some way to make Ireland loyal, and it was the duty of the Imperial Parliament to find that way. So spoke this champion of the people more than twenty years ago; fighting in hate of a wrong not his own.

It was the duty of the Leader of the House to defend this Government measure against the voices which condemned it; and he was not without power in doing so. However much we may admire the attitude of Bright, who would thus have yielded the rights that were demanded, or at least a portion of them, we must recognize the wisdom of Gladstone in his arguments against this course. The Irish members had acquiesced in this bill, and they were the legal representatives of the Irish people. Much of Mr. Bright's speech, he said, was open to question, and was ill-timed; it was the duty of the House to strengthen the hands of the Executive in the preservation of law and order. Mr. Gladstone in later years showed that he was not so blindly prejudiced in this course as the Fenians would have had us believe; when the Irish people demanded their rights in moderation and self-control, he urged that these rights be granted; but it will be remembered that that demand had not then been made by the voice of their representatives in Parliament. "The mills of the gods grind slowly;" and the Fenians were premature in the turbulent violence of their efforts. Ireland will some day be free, as her sons, from Emmet to Parnell, have wished to see her; the day will sometime dawn when every nation upon earth shall have the American ideal of "a government of the people, for the people, and by the people."

The Government carried out other vigorous measures for the suppression of the conspiracy, such as the suspension of the newspaper which was the chief organ, the arrest of suspected persons, the order of additional troops to Ireland; soon leaving only those embers which finally kindled the fires of Parnellism.

The old question of Church Rates came up again this session, and Mr. Gladstone pressed a measure providing for the abolition



Earl Russell.

of compulsory Church Rates; but the question was left in the same doubtful position which it had so long occupied.

The war between Austria and Prussia brought about a warm

discussion on continental affairs, in which Mr. Gladstone warned the Foreign Secretary that the cause of Italy was dear to the people of England, who would not readily forgive a policy which attacked her unity and independence. It may here be remarked that Venetia was added to Italy by the treaty which closed this war, a few months after Mr. Gladstone's speech on the subject; and with the exception of the States of the Church, which came under his dominion in 1870, the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel was the same as that over which Humbert has sway.

The decks thus cleared for action, we come to the discussion of the all-important measure of Parliamentary Reform. When it was known that Earl Russell had succeeded Viscount Palmerston as the head of the Government, it was confidently anticipated that there would be a sweeping change in the mode of representation; that the franchise would be considerably extended, in accordance with the veteran reformer's ideas as expressed in that bill which his late chief had literally "damned with faint praise." The measure was introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 12th of March, and met with much opposition; not from the Conservatives only, from whom of course it was to be expected, but from many Liberals as well. It has been remarked by the careful historian whom we have quoted several times before this, that it was scarcely politic, if the Ministry had looked only to its own stability, to introduce, at the beginning of the first session of a new Parliament, a measure which would have the effect of renewing the risks and expense of a general election. If Earl Russell and Mr. Gladstone had been content to wait another session or two before introducing the Reform Bill they would have addressed themselves to members whose recollection of the election was less vivid, whose purses would have in some degree at least have recovered from the enormous drain which English election expenses entail; and the reception of the bill would most probably have been more fortunate.

But Lord Russell had long been an enthusiast upon this subject. He had made his first motion in favor of Parliamentary Reform during the year of Queen Victoria's birth; he had been one of the four members of the Government to whom Earl Grey intrusted the task of framing the first Reform Bill, which passed in 1831; and he had proposed that famous measure to the House of Commons. He was then verging close upon forty; more than

thirty years later, his ancient ardor had not diminished; and he had a worthy second in Mr. Gladstone. "Too fond of the right to pursue the expedient," they considered themselves pledged to the people; and they redeemed that pledge at the earliest possible opportunity.

The House was crowded in every part as it had been when Lord John arose to introduce the first measure of the kind. In a speech of two hours Mr. Gladstone explained the provisions of the bill. It did not deal with the question of redistribution of seats, but simply with the extension of the Franchise; nor did Mr. Gladstone promise that the important omission should be dealt with during the next session. The bill, though a good and honest measure, was evidently a compromise; for that scheme which Lord John Russell had introduced, and which Mr. Gladstone had so warmly supported in 1860 had advocated the reduction of the franchise in the towns to £6, and in the counties to £10; and the figures in this bill stood at £7 and £14 respectively.

As we have said, the bill met with uncompromising opposition from a considerable portion of the Liberal party. Of this section, Mr. Lowe and Mr. Horsman were the recognized leaders. Mr. Bright, who was of course a warm supporter of the measure, spoke in defense of it with all that keenness which so often makes his speeches unanswerable. The malcontent Whigs were the victims of his sarcasm, which was dealt out with no sparing hand:

"The right honorable gentleman [Mr. Horsman] is the first of the new party who has expressed his great grief, who has retired into what may be called his political "Cave of Adullam," and he has called about him every one that was in distress and every one that was discontented. The right honorable gentleman has been long anxious to form a party in this House. There is scarcely any one on this side of the House who is able to address the House with effect, or to take much part in our debates, whom he has not tried to bring over to his party or cabal; and at last the right honorable gentleman has succeeded in hooking the right honorable gentleman the Member for Calne [Mr. Lowe]. I know there was an opinion expressed many years ago by a member of the Treasury Bench and of the Cabinet, that two men would make a party. When a party is formed of two men so amiable, so discreet, as the two right honorable gentlemen, we

may hope to see, for the first time in Parliament, a party perfectly harmonious, and distinguished by mutual and unbroken trust. But there is one difficulty which it is impossible to remove. This party of two reminds me of the Scotch terrier, which was so covered with hair that you could not tell which was the head and which was the tail of it."

But Mr. Bright's contempt for the weakness of this party of two was premature. Since the days when David retired into the Cave of Adullam, and there gathered to him every one that was in distress, or in debt, or discontented, there have always been found followers for such complainers against the existing state of things. There were many Adullamites, as the Palmerstonians, or anti-Reform Whigs, began to be called; and the party was not without its influence.

The speeches which were delivered against the bill by the members of this new party were of such a nature that the Conservative party took fresh courage. Had the Liberals remained united, there would have been little chance for the Opposition, so considerable was the majority which had been returned for the Government in the general election. The Conservative leaders summoned a meeting of their supporters for the purpose of considering the manner in which they should deal with the ministerial proposal. Lord Derby was absent on account of illness, so that Mr. Disraeli was the foremost figure. He delivered an address which aroused the enthusiasm of his auditors, and it was resolved that the bill should be strenuously opposed. Their hopes were no longer confined to mere delay, or some slight concessions which might be wrung from the Government; nothing



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less than a total rout of the ministerial forces would satisfy them; and the alliance of the Adullamites would enable them to achieve this victory.

It caused no small dismay in the Reform camp when it was known that Earl Grosvenor, the eldest son of the Marquis of Westminster, had gone over to the enemy; for they had confidently reckoned upon his continued support. Upon the second reading of the bill, however, he proposed a resolution affirming that the House did not think it expedient to discuss any bill for the reduction of the franchise until the whole plan of the Government should have been laid before it.

As Mr. Gladstone had already stated that the Government would not attempt anything that session beyond the extension of the franchise, this was regarded as a vote of no confidence; and coming as the proposition did from one who had so lately been an ally upon whom they could always depend, the effect was peculiarly discouraging to the friends of Reform.

This opposition was natural on the part of the representatives of small boroughs, who were anxious that their constituents should not be immediately disfranchised; there are few men capable of the serio-comic self-sacrifice of that Member for Ludgershall who was his own constituency, as we have mentioned in our chronicles of the days of Earl Grey's Reform Bill. Others there were who were jealous of the influence which Mr. Bright and his adherents were supposed to have exerted over the Cabinet, in framing this bill. Others still feared that if the extension of the franchise were carried, it would be the means of obtaining a much larger measure of redistribution than the old Whig party was willing to consent to. By the Conservatives it was regarded as a dangerous concession to democracy. Such were the sentiments of the majority of the House of Commons; but the bill was more generally approved in the country.

The combination between the Tories and the Adullamites was one which could not easily be defeated without making concessions which, in the eyes of the Leader of the House, were calculated to lower the dignity of the Government; and Mr. Gladstone was the last man in the world to compromise that dignity, even for the sake of avoiding a defeat. At the same time it was his duty to avoid that contingency, if possible to do so by means consistent with the honor of the Ministry. He therefore gave a short explanation on the evening before the House adjourned for

the Easter holidays. After the second reading of the franchise bill, and before it was committed, the Government would state their intentions with regard to the franchise of Scotland and Ireland and the questions connected with the redistribution of seats. After that they would proceed with the franchise bill until its fate was determined. But the motion of Lord Grosvenor would be opposed as a proposed vote of want of confidence.

During the Easter holidays, the friends of the Reform Bill worked hard. Mr. Bright told a large meeting at Birmingham that their representation was a sham and a farce, and that if they wanted Reform, they must bring a strong pressure to bear upon Parliament from without. Mr. Gladstone delivered two addresses upon the same subject at Liverpool, declaring that he and his colleagues had determined to stand or fall by their franchise bill; that they had crossed the Rubicon, whence there was no possibility of retreat.

When the second reading of the bill came up, just a month after it had been introduced, there was but little interest in the debate, for it was thought that argument on the topic had been exhausted; every one was looking anxiously forward to the division. But the debate dragged on, night after night. It was the 28th of April before the division was reached. The number of members voting was perhaps the largest proportion of the House of Commons that ever expressed an opinion in that way; no less than six-hundred and thirty-one votes were cast; so that there were but twenty-six, besides the speaker, who did not vote. The majority in favor of the Government was five.

When the result of the division was announced, the excitement in the House was unparalleled; it broke forth in shouts of triumph, not from the Ministry that had nominally conquered, but from the Adullamites who had so nearly defeated them. Indeed, such a victory was worse than a defeat; for while it did not permit the Ministry to withdraw the bill, it gave a most unequivocal indication that it would meet with a decisive defeat at the next stage. The only alternatives were to dissolve or resign.

The division had taken place Saturday morning, and at five o'clock Monday afternoon Mr. Gladstone rose to announce the programme of the Ministers. The bill was to be proceeded with; in a week's time leave would be asked to introduce the bill for

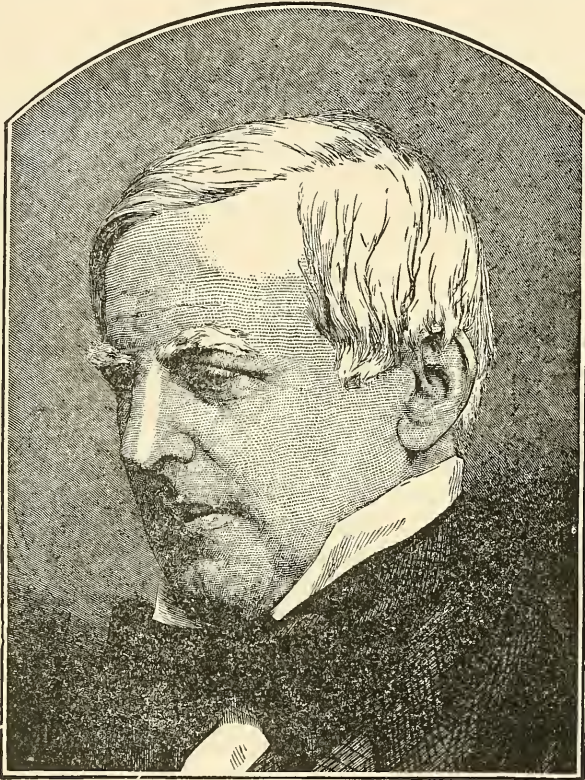
the redistribution of seats ; bills for Scotland and Ireland were to be brought in on the same evening, and would be proceeded with at the same time as the franchise bill. The House received the announcement in silence ; the decisive battle was yet to be fought.

Mr. Gladstone further announced, on the evening that these bills were introduced, that the Queen would not be advised by the Government to prorogue Parliament until these bills should become law. The franchise and redistribution bills were finally combined, and submitted to one committee. The question was not finally decided until June 18th, when, on an amendment proposed by an Adullamite, the House divided, and gave a majority of eleven against the Ministers. The Opposition, both Tories and Whigs, received the announcement with deafening cheers. The Russell Government was to stand or fall by its Reform measure, and the bill had failed.

The Queen was in Scotland, and it was some time before the suspense of the House was relieved. Would the Cabinet resign, dissolve, or go on with the bill ? Eight days later it was announced that they had determined to resign ; and that her Majesty had finally accepted their resignations, though not without considerable hesitation. Mr. Gladstone thus stated the reasons which had actuated them in this course :

“The question before the Government was, whether they should resign their offices or whether they should accept the vote that had been come to, and endeavor to adapt it to the framework of their measure of Reform. * * * * By accepting the vote there would have been a breaking-up of the framework of the measure. But besides this, the Government had to consider the previous history of the bill, especially with reference to the pledges given from time to time—advisedly and deliberately given—to stand or fall by the measure. That is a pledge which should rarely be given by a government, but it has been given by this Government under the deepest conviction of public duty in regard to dealing with the question of Reform, and with respect to the character of public men and of Parliament. Therefore it was that the life of the Administration was attached to the life of the measure they proposed. * * * * Looking, I say, at all this, the Government found it impossible to carry on the bill, and we had no alternative but a resignation, and a persistence in our resignation.”

The fact that the measure had met with such favor in the country suggests that the Ministry might have appealed to that last resort, and thus secured the victory; but there were many Whigs in the Cabinet, who were by no means friends of the measure, though they could not openly oppose a bill introduced by their colleagues; they were not willing, however, to make any sacrifices



Rt. Hon. Robert Lowe.

for it, nor would they make great efforts to push it; in view of this disagreement, such a course would have been impracticable.

A new Ministry was formed, with the Earl of Derby at the head, and Mr. Disraeli as Chancellor of Exchequer and Leader of the House. The composition of the new Ministry was announced on the 9th of July.

In addressing the House of Lords upon the policy which the

Government would pursue, Lord Derby said that they were entirely unpledged upon the subject of Reform; and that they would not take up the question unless there was a fair prospect of carrying it through. With many promises of needed legislation, he addressed himself to the task of winding up the business of the session as soon as possible; but this was not accomplished in less than a month.

During this time, when the question of Reform remained in abeyance in Parliament, it was eagerly discussed by the people. Several associations were formed for the purpose of giving a plain and practical contradiction of the statement that the people were indifferent to it. The Reform League was the most considerable of these. A London barrister, Mr. Beales, was its president, and it owed much of its efficiency to his energy and talents. The League wished to hold a monster mass-meeting, and the president advised them that this might be done without infringement of the law. The place was fixed for Hyde Park, but the police forbade this, and the spectators, guided by Beales, went to Trafalgar Square, where the meeting was held. Resolutions in favor of Reform, and votes of thanks to Messrs. Gladstone and Bright for their constancy in the cause which so many had deserted, were carried unanimously. The members of the league and their friends then dispersed quietly. There was no disturbance; though a number of roughs, who had followed them to Hyde Park and remained there when the League withdrew to Trafalgar Square, created considerable trouble, which was wrongly laid to the door of the advocates of Reform. But this riotous conduct was not without its use; the Government heard the loud voices of the mob calling thus tumultuously more clearly than it had heard the voices of the more orderly who had been beseeching and claiming as a simple right the extension of the franchise.

The Derby Government could not shirk the question of Reform. They must go on with it, and it must be no half measure. But they left it in suspense almost to the last moment, for the Cabinet, as in the case of that which had been displaced, was divided upon the subject. Finally, however, Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli succeeded in persuading their colleagues to consent to the introduction of a bill upon this subject in the session of 1867.

Mr. Disraeli's position was hardly an enviable one, unless we consider that man fortunate whose powers are displayed by the

magnitude of the obstacles which he has to surmount. He was leader of a party that had all along dreaded and opposed any extension of the suffrage, being regarded with jealousy and suspicion by many whose support was necessary to the success of his scheme. Opposed by a considerable majority, which, although divided, might unite at any time; supported by a party that followed him with undisguised repugnance, and which, to borrow his own phrase, required to be educated up to the point of accepting such a measure as he would be obliged, by the pressure from without, to propose; and hampered by the declarations which he himself had made regarding the numerous Reform Bills which his opponents had brought forward at different times—he yet rose to the difficulty of his task with consummate ability. There were two plans possible: one a mild and conservative measure, the other a bolder one. It was the latter which was finally brought before the House.

In less than a week after Parliament assembled, the Leader of the House explained the provisions of the proposed bill. He gave notice later that the bill would be introduced March 18th. Mr. Gladstone spoke in answer to this notice, expressing a hope that when the Reform measure appeared, it would be simple and straightforward; not having a double set of provisions, one of which seemed to give, while the other really took away liberty. If the plan promised to effect good in a simple, straightforward, intelligible and constitutional manner, it would be received on his side of the House in no grudging spirit, with no recollection of the past, and no revival of mutual suspicions and complaints. It would have been well if the Government could have embraced these generous overtures; but there was a considerable section of the Conservative party who wanted no Reform at all, and Mr. Disraeli was obliged to satisfy them as well as those who were clamoring loudly for the changes.

Three of the Ministers had resigned because they could not give their assent to the bill approved by the majority of their colleagues. Instead of drawing a five, six, or seven pound limit, to cut off those from the franchise whose extreme poverty would render them more susceptible to bribes, the Government boldly adopted household suffrage with the simple qualification of the payment of rates. Mr. Disraeli calculated that this would enfranchise 237,000 additional voters, and that of the whole number of those who would have a voice in the election of the

House of Commons, one-half would belong to the middle class and one-fourth each to the higher and lower classes. Such was his much talked of "balance of power." But the bill did not give a vote to those householders whose rates were paid by their landlords; so that although the bill was on its face extremely generous, it was not really as much so as that which Mr. Gladstone had introduced.

A novel feature of the bill, and one which was by no means approved of, was that provision which gave a man two votes if he paid the requisite amount of assessed taxes or income tax, and was also a rate-paying householder. This was strongly assailed by speakers on both sides of the House, among the most emphatic of whom was Mr. Gladstone. A meeting of one hundred and forty members of the Liberal party was held at Mr. Gladstone's residence early in April, to arrange what course of action should be taken in opposing this bill. Some difference of opinion was expressed as to what should be done, but it was finally understood that Mr. Coleridge was to introduce a resolution affirming that the committee should have power to alter the rating and make other changes. On that very evening a meeting of some forty or fifty members was held in the tea-room of the House of Commons, who agreed that they would unite to limit the instructions to be proposed by Mr. Coleridge. They then appointed a deputation to convey to Mr. Gladstone the feeling of the meeting, and to assure him that the members composing this meeting would continue to give him a loyal support in committee. Mr. Gladstone, finding that by the defection of so many of his adherents he was almost certain to incur a defeat, yielded to their demands, and the resolution was altered accordingly. The House went into committee, Mr. Disraeli having accepted the altered resolution. Mr. Gladstone gave notice of several important amendments, which Mr. Disraeli stigmatized as merely the resolutions which had been abandoned by the tea-room party, cast into another form; and he announced that if they were insisted upon, the Government would not proceed with the bill. As most of the tea-room party held together, the Government triumphed by a majority of twenty-one in the division on the first of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions. After this, he could not hope to carry any of the others, and they were withdrawn. Nor was this all; he determined to withdraw from the leadership of the Liberal Party. He announced his intention,

and explained the reasons for it, in a letter to one of the members for the City, who had asked him if he intended to persevere in moving the amendments of which he had given notice. In this letter Mr. Gladstone clearly expressed his intention of not taking further steps to combat the action of the Government; though he promised to follow any one who would undertake the leadership in this matter.

His action was sincerely regretted by those who still supported him, though they saw that he was justified in the course which he had taken. Mr. Bright took the opportunity which a great Reform demonstration at Birmingham afforded, to denounce the action of those Liberals who had thus deserted their leader at such a critical time. Eulogizing Mr. Gladstone as having brought to the consideration of this question of Reform more earnestness, conviction, and zeal than any statesman since the measure of Earl Grey had excited all England, he asked: "Who is there in the House of Commons that equals him in knowledge of all political questions? Who equals him in earnestness? Who equals him in eloquence? Who equals him in courage and fidelity to his convictions? If these gentlemen who say they will not follow him have any one who is equal, let them show him. If they can point out any statesman who can add dignity and grandeur to the stature of Mr. Gladstone, let them produce him. It is a deplorable thing that last year a small section of forty men, or thereabouts, of professing Liberals, destroyed the honest and acceptable (I speak of the people) bill of the late Government, and with it destroyed also the Government which proposed it. About an equal number have this year to a great extent destroyed the power of the Opposition, and may assist an anti-Reforming Government to pass a very bad measure on the greatest question of our time. * * * * * What can be done in parliamentary parties if every man is to pursue his own little game? A costermonger and donkey would take a week to travel from here to London; and yet, by running athwart the London and Northwestern line, they might bring to total destruction a great express train; and so very small men, who during their whole political lives have not advanced the question of Reform by one hair's breadth or one moment of time, can in a critical hour like this throw themselves athwart the objects of a great party, and perhaps mar a great measure that sought to affect the interests of the country beneficially for all time."

The plain truth and justice of Mr. Bright's speech carried with his censures weight that made them to be felt by men, who, professing to desire a real extension of the franchise, were yet adopting a course which was nullifying that object, and were placing at the disposal of the minority a power which ought to be exercised by the majority.

The bill made no provisions for granting the franchise to lodgers, but this was conceded as time went on. Other modifications were made both in the franchise and in the re-distribution of seats; and the Government announced that from this position they would not recede further. Various amendments were proposed, but the House was only too anxious to have the question settled, and these were rejected, though by very small majorities. Some other concessions were wrung from the Ministry, notwithstanding Mr. Disraeli's positive statement; so that one of those ministers who had resigned office because he could not support this bill, observed that it seemed there was nothing with less vitality than a vital point, nothing so insecure as the securities which the bill offered, and nothing so elastic as the conscience of a Cabinet Minister. Certainly he had cause for these biting remonstrances, for the Conservative Ministry had so modified this measure that it was one which might have been introduced by Mr. Bright himself, and far surpassed the expectations even of the Reform League.

The later clauses of the bill were hurried along, for it was the latter part of July; amendments were negatived after very slight consideration; and the bill at last came up for the third reading.

The caustic severity of the language which was used in describing Mr. Disraeli's course in this matter has scarcely been equalled in Parliament. It recalled to the minds of the elder members his own attack upon Sir Robert Peel. Mr. Disraeli, however, was not without weapons to repel such an attack; and answered by reviewing the action of the Palmerston Government, which had come into existence because the Derby Cabinet could not or would not grant Reform, and shirked the responsibility for which they had been appointed. The bill was read a third time, a single dissenting voice being heard when the Speaker put the question; and when the motion was made, "that the bill do pass," the announcement of the vote was received with more than usually tumultuous cheering.

The Reform Bill passed the House of Lords in August, and became law shortly afterward. Mr. Disraeli gave not a little offence to his adherents by the language which he shortly afterward used in speaking of it. "I had to prepare the mind of the country," he said, at a Conservative banquet in Edinburgh, "and to educate—if it be not arrogant to use such a phrase—to educate our party." There was much comment upon the expression, and the newspapers continued to quote it for a long time.

The author of this much amended Reform Bill was shortly to be called to occupy a higher position than his talents had yet won for him. The Earl of Derby had been in ill-health for a long time, frequently being unable to attend the sessions of the House of Lords; at other times he forced himself to be present when he was manifestly unfitted for the exertion. He retired in February, 1868, and Mr. Disraeli became Prime Minister. Of this elevation, the newspapers had much to say; and what they said was not always exactly complimentary to the brilliant novelist-politician. While not as violently worded as some of the attacks which the press of this country sometimes makes upon high officials, from the President down—for they would not be guilty of formal disrespect to the the First Minister of the Crown—there was yet a mingling of unanswerable raillery and sarcasm. Perhaps an extract from the *Pall Mall Gazette* will be the best example:

"One of the most grievous and constant puzzles of King David was the prosperity of the wicked and scornful; and the same tremendous moral enigma has come down to our own days. In this respect the earth is in its older times what it was in its youth. Even so recently as last week the riddle presented itself once more in its most impressive shape. Like the Psalmist, the Liberal leader may well protest that, 'verily, he has cleansed his heart in vain and washed his hands in innocency; all day long he has been plagued by' Whig Lords, 'and chastened every morning by' Radical manufacturers; as blamelessly as any curate he has written about *Ecce Homo*, and he has never made a speech, even in the smallest country town, without calling out with David, 'How foolish am I, and how ignorant!' For all this, what does he see? The scorner who shot out the lip and shook the head at him across the table of the House of Commons last session, has now more than heart could wish; his eyes, speaking in an Oriental manner, stand out with fatness, he speak-

eth loftily, and pride compasseth him about as with a chain. * * * * That the writer of frivolous stories about Vivian Grey and Coningsby should grasp the sceptre before the writer of beautiful and serious things about *Ecce Homo*—the man who is epigrammatic, flashy, arrogant, before the man who never perpetrated an epigram in his life, is always fervid, and would as soon die as admit that he had a shade more brain than his footman—the Radical corrupted into a Tory, before the Tory purified and elevated into a Radical—is not this enough to make an honest man rend his mantle, and shave his head, and sit down among the ashes inconsolable? Let us play the too underrated part of Bildad the Shuhite for a space, while our chiefs have thus unwelcome leisure to scrape themselves with potsherds, and to meditate upon the evil ways of the world.”

Beneath the scoffing and pretended condolence of this paragraph, there is no small vein of truth. The characters of the two men are not inaptly drawn; for although it is a palpable exaggeration to say that Mr. Gladstone would “as soon die as admit that he had any more brains than his footman,” he is not keenly self-appreciative; and the quality thus lacking in his mental composition was possessed in double share by the most eminent of his rivals.

Parliament had been summoned in November, 1867, to consider the Abyssinian War. This was undertaken for the deliverance of certain British subjects who were held captive by King Theodore. Mr. Gladstone was among those who spoke on the subject. There had been certain statements made by Mr. Disraeli during the recess, regarding Parliamentary matters, which he, as Leader of the Opposition, was fully justified in asking an explanation for; but the illness of Mrs. Disraeli had at this time assumed such a form that she was in a precarious condition; and the brilliant novelist was as deeply attached to his wife as he was indebted to her. Prefacing his speech, therefore, with the statement that he would refrain from asking for any explanations, and by an expression of his sympathy with Mr. Disraeli in his domestic affliction, Mr. Gladstone pointed out that while there was a clear *casus belli*, it was not at all clear that there would be much gained by a war; the Ministry would have to convince the House that the objects of the expedition were obtainable, and show both how it was proposed to carry on the expedition, and what would be its limits. He pressed for a settle-

ment of the troubles in Ireland, where the Fenian outbreak was at its height. He trusted that the rumor was incorrect which assigned to the Irish Church Commission the function of drawing up plans for its reorganization. Mr. Disraeli was unusually moved when he rose to reply, thanking Mr. Gladstone for the expression of sympathy, and the House for the manner in which it had been received. His speech did not promise much definitely. The Government hoped to accomplish all that was demanded of them; they were still unpledged to the Abyssinian Expedition; they would introduce a bill dealing with the Irish troubles; and were giving their earnest attention to Church matters. The House a few days later voted a sufficient sum to carry on the African war, and, agreeably to the plan for which Mr. Gladstone had on this occasion as on others so warmly pleaded, imposed an additional tax to meet the expense without adding to the debt. The House adjourned about the middle of December, the objects of this special session having been accomplished.

Reform Bills relating to Scotland and Ireland were carried during the session of 1868, and the work for which Earl Russell had so long hoped was thus accomplished by his political opponents, who had opposed nothing so vehemently and persistently.

A question which had long occupied the attention of Parliament was definitely settled this session, chiefly by the efforts of Mr. Gladstone. The measure, which was the Compulsory Church Rates Abolition Bill, passed both houses, though not without some opposition from the Conservatives. It provided that there should be no legal proceedings for the collection of Church Rates, unless money had been borrowed on them as security; but voluntary agreements might be made, and the money so promised might be collected in the same way that any other contracts might be enforced. While this bill was looked upon as a Radical measure, it is not clear that it really made much change in the real state of affairs. Parliament simply agreed that the Church would waive the right which she had asserted, in case she could not secure the recognition of that right from those who supported other places of worship.

The Irish Church had long been a subject which had perplexed the legislators of the Empire. If the Dissenters in England had been strong enough to compel that act of justice which has just been chronicled, the Non-conformists of Ireland were strong enough numerically to have done much more, had all other

things been equal. But the mere assertion of a right by an Irishman seems always to have been enough to arouse the opposition



Hon. Charles Stewart Parnell.

of Englishmen. A nation which prides itself upon its sense of justice, its regard for the rights of man, its love of liberty, has never hesitated to grind a subject nation to the dust. The Irish

Church was exotic, and only the care which was given it by Parliament enabled it to stand the cold regard of the people of the country. As long ago as 1835, in that pamphlet which won his baronetcy for him, Bulwer-Lytton had said that the words "Irish Church" were the greatest bull in the language; that it was called the Church of Ireland because it was not the Church of the Irish. We have had occasion before this to speak of the difficulty which was experienced in collecting tithes; that difficulty had not diminished in the least. To mend the matter for the incumbents, who were thus unable to collect their incomes, the Government had formulated a scheme by which the Church would be less embarrassed; this was the plan of charging the landlord with the tithes, and allowing him to add a corresponding sum to the rent which had before been exacted. A refractory Irishman, who paid a hundred pounds a year for his holding, thus had his rent raised to one hundred and ten pounds, in order that a church for which he had no regard might be enabled to support her ministers. This was the chief change that had been made in the government of the Irish Church since the days of O'Connell, and it was one that bore heavily upon an already over-burdened people.

On the 16th of March, 1868, Mr. Maguire having moved that the House resolve itself into a committee of the whole to consider the Irish question, Mr. Gladstone struck the first blow in the fight which was to end in the disestablishment of the Irish Church. After speaking feelingly of the wrongs which the Irish had endured at the hands of the English for centuries, he said that there must be religious equality established; but that the principle of leveling up was a most pernicious error. The Irish people had repeatedly been urged to loyalty and to union; that was what he would advocate, too; but it was idle, it was mockery to use the words without giving them some substantial meaning by action. It is unnecessary to quote his pleadings for a measure which has long since become law; but his conclusion is pertinent to the present, and will be so until Ireland is free:

"If we are prudent men, I hope we shall endeavor, as far as in us lies, to make some provision for a contingent, a doubtful, and probably a dangerous future. If we be chivalrous men, I trust we shall endeavor to wipe away those stains which the civilized world for ages has seen, or seemed to see, on the shield of England in her treatment of Ireland. If we be compassionate men,

I hope that we shall now, once for all, listen to the tale of woe which comes from her, and the reality of which, if not its justice, is testified to by the continuous emigration of her people; that we shall endeavor to

‘Raze out the written troubles from her brain,
Pluck from her memory the rooted sorrow.’

But, above all, if we be just men, we shall go forward in the name of truth and right, bearing this in mind; that when the case is proved, and the hour is come, justice delayed is justice denied.”

This eloquent appeal carried consternation into the camp of the enemy. Mr. Disraeli bewailed his own misfortune in being confronted with this ancient problem at the very outset of his career as Premier; the same state of affairs had existed while the Palmerston and Russell Governments were in power, to both of which Mr. Gladstone had belonged, and no attempt had been made to deal with it. He strongly objected to the destruction of the Irish Church, being personally in favor of ecclesiastical endowments. At Mr. Gladstone’s request Mr. Maguire withdrew his motion.

But the spectre had been raised, and could not be laid. The Irish Church question had moved forward an enormous stride when Mr. Gladstone had made that appeal, and it was impossible to go back, or even to stand still. The country speedily took up the cry of disestablishment, and it became the one aim of the Liberal party of the time. Mr. Gladstone himself did not recede from the advanced position which he had taken, but laid upon the table of the House of Commons a series of resolutions, which he intended to move in committee of the whole, affirming that it was necessary that the Established Church of Ireland should cease to exist as an establishment, due regard being had to all personal rights and individual interests; and that an address should be presented to Her Majesty, praying that her interest in the temporalities, dignities, and benefices in Ireland be placed at the disposal of Parliament. To these resolutions Lord Stanley, a few days later, gave notice of an amendment to the effect that the whole subject might well be left to the consideration of a new Parliament.

March 30th, Mr. Gladstone delivered his famous speech in connection with these resolutions. Having given assurance that his measure did not contemplate the violation of any vested right or interest, but would endeavor to work this great reform without

injustice to any one, he proceeded briefly to recapitulate his personal history in connection with the subject. We need scarcely remind the reader what changes his opinions had undergone; those who are so interested in the subject as to desire a detailed account, may be referred to the pages of Hansard, or the published speeches of the great Liberal, or to that resume of his own which we have before had occasion to quote, "A Chapter of Autobiography."

The speaker showed the futility of the attempt to Protestantize Ireland by the maintenance of the Establishment; though the census of 1861 showed a small proportionate increase, the rate was so small that it would take 1500 or 2000 years to effect the conversion of the entire people. He recognized that many felt that it was an unhallowed act to disestablish a Church, and while he fully understood the feeling, he thought it an error, which it was his duty to overcome and repress. Throughout the whole speech there ran a tone of deepest sympathy with those earnest thinkers who looked upon this measure as almost, if not quite, an act of sacrilege; a sympathy the more profound because the speaker had himself passed through that stage of thinking; he had held the faith which they now held; but having grown out of it, he called to them to rise to the level which he had reached. That journal which had called him a Tory elevated and purified into a Radical, might well now have styled him a Churchman purified and elevated into a Christian.

Lord Stanley justified his amendment upon the ground that Mr. Gladstone's resolutions merely affirmed the necessity for action, without specifying what should be done. Lord Cranborne, on the other hand, condemned the amendment as ambiguous; it left all to the future policy of the Government, which he would as soon undertake to predict as to tell the House which way the weather-cock would point to-morrow. This fling at the Premier's inconsistency was followed by a thoroughly Conservative speech by Mr. Gathorne Hardy, who it will be remembered was that successor of Mr. Gladstone as the representative of Oxford who was not regarded as dangerous on account of any phenomenal ability. Mr. Bright, of course, justified disestablishment, on the ground that the Irish Church had been, both as a political institution and a missionary church, a most deplorable failure. The Conservative party had resisted Free Trade, Reform and other measures, and this was not more serious than they had been.

Mr. Lowe spoke forcibly in favor of disestablishment, arguing that the Irish Church was founded upon an injustice, on the dominant right of the few over the many; as a missionary work, it was a miserable failure; and, like Mr. Bright, he showed how disproportionate to the effort in this direction had been the result, a fact that must be universally conceded.



Hon. Gathorne Hardy.

To all these Mr. Disraeli answered in a speech which even for him was of an unusually personal character. Lord Salisbury, he said, was a man of great talent, and had vigor in his language. As soon as the noble lord heard the amendment, he concluded that the Government was about to betray its trust. Mr. Lowe suffered more severely at his hands. There was nothing that he liked, and almost everything that he hated. Mr. Disraeli then stated, with that coolness which distinguished him upon such

occasions, that he had never attacked any one in his life. He was interrupted by loud cries, in which the name of Peel was plainly heard; and these became so numerous that he adroitly added the proviso, "unless I was first attacked." But even this prudent addition did not hush the cries. He talked of having fathomed a conspiracy between Ritualism and Popery to overthrow the throne; and declared that as long as, by the favor of the Queen, he stood there, he would oppose this nefarious effort of Mr. Gladstone and his friends.

Mr. Gladstone retorted that there were some parts of the Prime Minister's speech the relevancy of which he could not discern; while others were due to a heated imagination. For himself, he did not wish to deny that he advocated the disestablishment of the Irish Church; and he demanded that this Parliament should at least prepare the way for that necessary measure.

The debate had lasted four nights before divisions were taken. In the two which were taken at the close of the discussion, the Government was defeated by majorities of fifty-six and sixty.

The Liberals had not dared to hope for such a decisive majority. The party was now united as it had not been for a long time, and the popular feeling was largely with them in this question. But the Conservatives were not willing to allow that they were wholly beaten, especially in the opinion of the people. If a Liberal meeting were held, a Conservative followed. Various means, not always fair ones, were resorted to, to prove the Opposition in the wrong. Serious charges were circulated against the leader of the Liberal party. When he was at Rome, he had made arrangements with the Pope, being a Catholic at heart, to destroy the Established Church of Ireland; he had publicly condemned the support of the clergy in the three kingdoms out of public or Church funds; he had, when at Balmoral, refused to attend the Queen to church; he had received the thanks of the Pope for his course with regard to the Irish Church; and he was a member of a High-Church Ritualistic congregation. "These statements, one and all," wrote Mr. Gladstone, when they were brought to his knowledge, "are untrue in letter and in spirit, from beginning to end."

Mr. Gladstone's resolutions were stigmatized as unconstitutional by Lord Derby, who spoke in the House of Lords while the measures were yet pending in the Commons. When the debate

was summed up, on the night when the first resolution was carried, Mr. Gladstone repelled this charge, and declared that he would not take the word of command from the House of Lords. Urging the resolution as a part of a policy which would add to the glory and strength of the Empire, he gave place to his rival, who merely reiterated his objections to disestablishment. The division followed the speeches of the two leaders, and the Opposition found that they had a majority of sixty-five.

The decrease of the Government's strength was unmistakable, and Mr. Disraeli waited upon the Queen. The proper constitutional course, he told her, was to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country, though at the same time he offered the resignation of the Ministry; but if the House would co-operate with the Government, he thought it would be better to delay dissolution until the Autumn.

But this was by no means what the Liberals wanted and had worked for. Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright and Mr. Lowe protested against this failure to dissolve at once under such circumstances as unconstitutional; but the Premier had laid his plans cunningly. To dissolve at once was to appeal to the existing constituencies; there must be an appeal very shortly to the constituencies established by the Reform Bill of the previous year, so that the new Parliament would sit for only a single very short session. Under such circumstances, the desired delay was granted; and the Ministers having agreed to confine themselves to such business as was absolutely necessary, the Opposition yielded the point.

The remaining resolutions which Mr. Gladstone had introduced were put and carried without serious opposition. The Ministers negatived them as a matter of course, as they were but corollaries of the first; but there was no division. Then arose such a scene as the House of Commons has seldom beheld. A Scotch member, a Liberal, elated with the victory which had already been gained, and thinking that matters might as well be pushed to the utmost, moved the abolition of the Maynooth grant and the *regium donum* (separate annual grants of public money by the Government to the Catholics and Presbyterian clergy in Ireland). This was more than Mr. Gladstone and his immediate adherents had bargained for, and the Liberals were at once re-divided among themselves. The Ministers walked out of the House, leaving the Opposition to fight out

their civil war in their own way. The uproar was at its height. Bellowing, screeching, cheering, yelling, echoed and re-echoed in that hall which should have been the scene of dignified deliberation. Everywhere there was extravagant gesticulation from members who had the floor, and members who wanted it. In the midst of the confusion the Prime Minister returned. His expectations had been realized, he said, and the gentlemen on the opposite side of the House were now quarreling over their booty. But this sarcasm did not shame them; it only added to the disorder; and in the midst of the confusion the Scotch member's rider to Mr. Gladstone's resolution was adopted.

The Scotch Reform Bill necessitated some further changes in that measure which applied to the southern kingdom; but these were passed without much opposition. There were some minor measures passed, and some of considerable importance to the country, such as the authorization of the purchase of the various telegraph lines; but none that are of interest in connection with our subject. Mr. Gladstone was too closely identified with that great measure which he finally passed, to speak at length on other topics.

His Suspensory Bill, which was preliminary to one abolishing the Establishment in Ireland, was at last introduced and passed the House by a majority of fifty-four; but it was defeated in the House of Lords, where the Conservative element so far outnumbered the Liberal.

If there were exciting times in the House of Commons, the members were not free from cares connected with their seats when they had left St. Stephen's. Parliament was prorogued the last day of July, with a view to its dissolution the middle of November. The candidates at once proceeded to make their canvass.

The election speeches of Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone, while nominally addressed to their special constituents, were of course meant as general expositions of the policy of their respective parties. As such, we need not quote them, as they dealt mainly with that great question which had defeated the Ministry. One sentence of a speech which Mr. Gladstone delivered at St. Helen's is so apt a description of the Irish Church that we give it, alone: "You must not take away its abuses, because, if you take them away, there will be nothing left."

It was well known that the Conservatives would spare no ef-

fort to defeat Mr. Gladstone in Southwest Lancashire. Though the weather was bitterly cold when the nominations took place, the space around the hustings was crowded. The Conservatives had displayed their wit upon numerous placards, which were enjoyed by Mr. Gladstone as well as by his enemies. "Bright's Disease and Lowe Fever," "Time-table to Greenwich," and similar happy hits were to be seen. During Mr. Gladstone's speech of forty minutes, he was regaled with a choral performance of the national anthem. Notwithstanding this, he proceeded, with much eloquence, to state the Liberal policy.

While there was a great preponderance of feeling in favor of Mr. Gladstone at the hustings, the polls told a different story, and the foremost Liberal would have been left without a seat in Parliament, had not the Liberals of Greenwich, fearful of such a contingency, placed him in nomination and elected him by a triumphant majority. Other notable members of the party who were defeated at this election were the Marquis of Hartington and Mr. John Stuart Mill.


But in spite of these notable single defeats, the Liberals had carried the day. More than half a million voters of the three kingdoms were the majority for the Opposition. Since 1832 no such party majority had been known.

Under such circumstances, Mr. Disraeli did not think it necessary to wait until Parliament should assemble; but at once tendered his resignation, and those of his colleagues, to the Queen. There was no question as to who was to be his successor; for although Earl Russell was still a not inactive member of the House of Lords, he had practically renounced the leadership of the party. After him there was but one, the man who had been the most illustrious of his colleagues, who had occupied the most responsible post in the Administration which had resigned to make way for Derby and Disraeli. For him the Queen sent; and William Ewart Gladstone now reached that highest eminence attainable by a British subject—that of First Minister of the Crown, or, as more familiarly designated, Prime Minister of Great Britain.

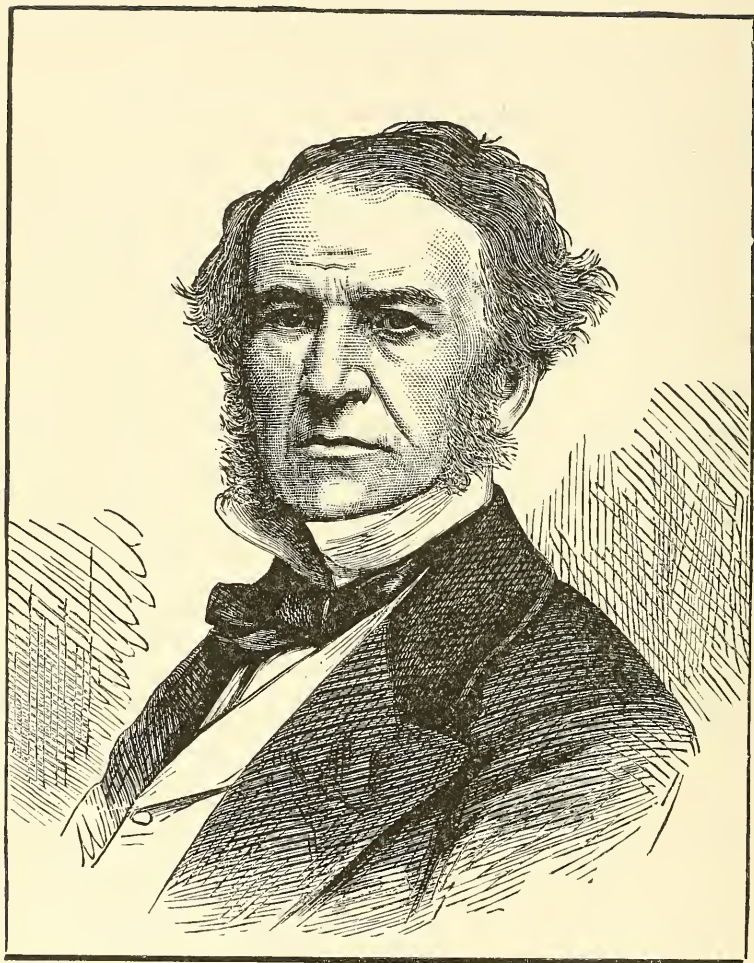
CHAPTER X.

THE FIRST GLADSTONE MINISTRY.

Prime Minister of England—Disestablishment of the Irish Church—Disraeli's Sarcasm—Eloquent Defense by John Bright—Opposition Among the Peers—Irish Land System—Bill for the Relief of Ireland—System of Education—English Tourists Seized by Greek Brigands—War Between France and Prussia—Russia's Control of the Black Sea—Marriage of the Princess Louise—Army Regulation Bill—Tory Abuse of Mr. Gladstone—Ballot Bill—Proposal to Admit Women to the Franchise—Much Opposition to the Government—Able Speeches by the Premier.

 R. GLADSTONE was fifty-nine years old the same month that he became Prime Minister of England for the first time. There were scarcely any evidences of advancing years to be seen in his face, and he had all the fire of youth in his voice and manner. He was at the head of a powerful party, which had come into office with a strength that had not been equalled for nearly forty years. His Government was a strong one; what might he not hope to accomplish?

When it was known that the Liberals were in the majority, no one had the least doubt but that Mr. Gladstone would be Prime Minister; and it was equally certain that certain men would be included in his Cabinet. But there was considerable surprise excited by one appointment which he made. This was the nomination of John Bright to be President of the Board of Trade. It was thought that Mr. Bright would not consent to be hampered in the expression of his individual opinions, as a Cabinet Minister must be when he is not in full accord with his colleagues; Lord Palmerston had humorously complained, some years before this time, that a Prime Minister was no longer able to do just as he liked; men with consciences, ideas, abilities of their own, were in office, and would not consent to be the mere clerks of their chief. It was indeed with some reluctance that Mr. Bright accepted this post, and he was careful to explain to his constituents that they must not think he had changed his opinions, if the measures of the Ministry were sometimes opposed to his



Wm. E. Gladstone at Age of Fifty-nine.

known ideas, unless he himself should announce such modification to them. It had been originally planned to make him Secretary for India, but the possibility of circumstances arising in which he would be obliged to direct military operations made it desirable to place him in some office where he would not be called upon to do that which was in direct antagonism with his opinions as a member of the Society of Friends.

If the Government was a strong one, it had need of all its strength. The task before it was an exceedingly difficult one; and although the policy of the party had been approved by such a vast majority of the people, there were not wanting those who regarded the disestablishment of the Irish church as an act of sacrilege, and did not hesitate to say so. At public meetings it was characterized as a wicked, ungodly and abominable measure, framed in a spirit of inveterate hostility to the Church, a great national sin, a dreadful thing, a perilous weakening of the foundations of property, which the Queen must, at all hazards, interfere to prevent, as she had better jeopardize her crown than destroy the Church.

These were expressions used by bishops and other clergymen, and by noblemen, who were presumably civil-spoken. The laity of lower rank, as was to be expected, were even more unmeasured in their denunciations. The statements of the Liberal press and the Liberal speakers were lies; the members of the Government were traitors, robbers, political brigands; if there were any form of abuse that was not used, it was because it was unknown to these zealous defenders of the Establishment.

Mr. Gladstone, of course, paid not the slightest attention to these outcries of the defeated party. He gave notice that he should bring in his bill on the 1st of March. His speech occupied three hours in the delivery, but even Mr. Disraeli, who seems to have been in an unusually complimentary mood, admitted that there was not one sentence that the subject and the argument could have spared.

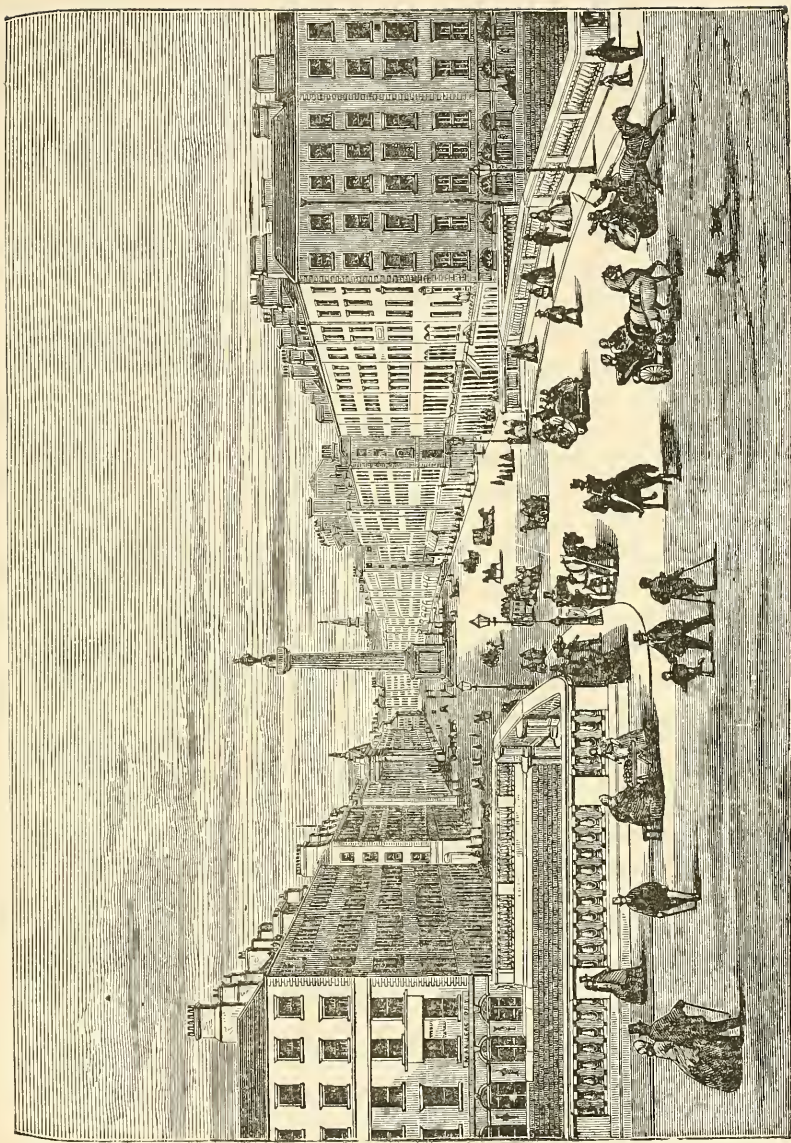
The bill was a simple one, and seems to have been a justly framed measure. The Irish Church was to cease to exist as a State Establishment, and was to become a free Episcopal Church. The bishops would of course lose their seats in the House of Lords. A governing body, elected from the clergy and laity, would be recognized by the Government; the union between the English and Irish Churches was to be dissolved, and the Irish

Ecclesiastical Courts were to be abolished. Then there were provisions for the disposal of the revenue in such a way as to prevent any injustice being done to those who had claims upon the Establishment. There would be a considerable surplus after all claims were satisfied, and it was proposed to use this to alleviate unavoidable suffering in Ireland. There was some discussion with regard to this, as it was thought to be somewhat indefinite; Mr. Gladstone spoke of making provision for the blind, the deaf and dumb, for reformatories, schools for the training of nurses and the support of county infirmaries. Of this disposition of the funds Mr. Bright was the ardent champion.

Along with the Establishment, the Maynooth grant and the *regium donum* came to an end. We have in a previous chapter spoken of the former; the latter was a royal allowance for the maintenance of Presbyterian ministers in Ireland. It had begun under the Stuarts, and been abolished under the same House; but was restored by William III., who had reason to be grateful to Irish Presbyterians. Both were small things, but their abolition established the equality of religious denominations in Ireland.

The bill was of course resisted, but it was not such a resistance as is opposed when the Opposition has any hope of succeeding. Mr. Disraeli spoke, but his speech was characterized as "flimsiness relieved by spangles—the definition of a columbine's skirt." "He began in the philosophical vein," said the *Times*, which had given this definition; "and while we acknowledge that Mr. Disraeli's fun is exquisite, his philosophy is detestable." He had no faith in the possibility of success, it was evident to his hearers; the speech was a perfunctory one, a mere matter of form; and contrasted badly, sparkling and bewildering in its conceits and illustrations as it was, with that in which the Prime Minister had introduced the measure, which was said at the time to be "a Parliamentary achievement unequalled even by himself."

But if Mr. Disraeli took little interest in the contest in which he had only to expect defeat, it was not so with some of his adherents. Mr. Gathorne Hardy, in particular, who is said to have been so constituted that he could see but one side of a question at a time, saw what was most decidedly the Conservative side of this one, and did not hesitate to say so, in a speech so filled with the conviction that this was an act of spoliation and sacrilege that it was almost up to the level of eloquence.



Carlisle Bridge and Sackville Street, Dublin.

Mr. Bright was one of the most eloquent defenders of the measure. He spoke in reply to Mr. Disraeli's speech. Alluding to the statement that the Establishment was a protector of the freedom of religion and toleration, which had been advanced by the ex-Premier, he said that Mr. Disraeli "seemed to read a different history from everyone else, or else he made his own, and, like Voltaire, made it better without facts than with them." He closed what was justly called a magnificent oration, with a noble and dignified appeal, which, coming from any other lips, would have seemed daring, but which from him exercised a powerful and impressive effect upon the House.

Mr. Lowe, who had come out of the Cave of Adullam long ago, and was now Chancellor of the Exchequer, made an attack upon Mr. Disraeli, and proved to his own satisfaction, if not to that of the Conservative chief, that the Irish Church had neglected all its opportunities of conciliating the people.

Mr. Gladstone reviewed the course of the debate. Mr. Hardy, he said, had, by his accusations of the Irish people, shown that he dare do what Burke would not attempt—"draw an indictment against a whole people." But even in this picture of the Irish people, which was little, if any, short of libellous, there were evils displayed for which Mr. Hardy had no remedy. He then went on to consider the charge that this bill would necessitate a change in the Coronation Oath, and showed the groundlessness of that argument. One after another, the pleas which had been advanced for the maintenance of a Church in which the people had no part, save to be taxed for its support, were taken up and pulled to pieces. Mr. Gladstone showed that these arguments were like Mr. Disraeli's speech in one respect only—there was flimsiness without the spangles.

The division was then taken. There was intense excitement throughout the House, though the Government was secure in a majority sufficient to carry the measure through. But the whips had been hard at work, and it was not known how this might be diminished. There were actually present in the House six hundred and twenty-two members, a number which has seldom been exceeded, or even equalled. Much to the surprise of both sides, the majority was nearly double those of the previous year upon the same question; and the progress of public opinion was clearly demonstrated.

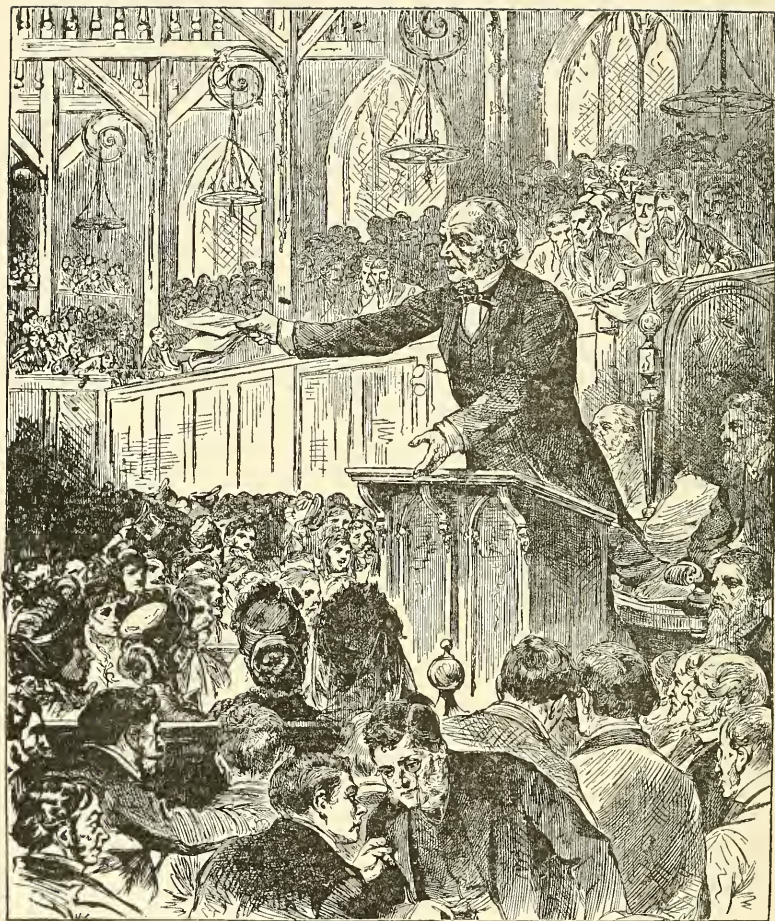
The further progress of the bill was slow, but sure, It was

three months before the final reading came on, and it was at last adopted by the Commons. The ordeal of the House of Lords yet remained; and for some time its fate was doubtful. Some of the debates in the House of Lords are said to have been more interesting than those in the Commons. The hereditary legislators dared not set themselves directly against a clear expression of public opinion, but, mindful of the condition on which they are said to hold their power, contented themselves with discussing amendments. There was at one time a rumor that the Peers would reject or greatly delay the bill, and Mr. Bright wrote an angry letter on the subject, addressed to a Birmingham meeting, in which he said that if the Lords persisted in throwing themselves athwart the national course they might meet with accidents not pleasant for them to think of. The Peers were many of them shocked and scandalized that a Cabinet Minister should give such plain and forcible expression to his opinions, and it was made the subject of some sharp discussion among them as well as in the Commons. But the very publicity and unexpectedness of the menace gave it a force which made it irresistible. If Cabinet Ministers had been in the habit of expressing themselves so openly when they held such opinions, there would have been nothing thought of it; but even Palmerston, when he declared that the Lords should not be allowed to resist the will of the people, as expressed by the vote of the Commons, had put it into the form of a jest. Mr. Bright, however, had a peculiar privilege in England; he could say just what he meant. Perhaps this unusual permission was accorded him because it was well understood that he would do as he pleased anyhow.

But the attacks which had been made upon the bill and its author outside, were renewed in the House of Lords. The Earl of Winchelsea compared Mr. Gladstone to Jack Cade, and after hinting at the coming of an Oliver Cromwell, declared that he would go to the block before he would surrender. Lord Grey said that the Lords were humiliated and degraded.

The passage of the Act for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, introduced and carried within a space of five months, has been called the most remarkable legislative achievement of modern times. It was carried mainly by the resolute will and unflinching energy of the man with whom it had originated, and who had become Prime Minister because of it.

But the thing could not end here. One reform is never ac-



The Election Campaign—Mr. Gladstone in the Assembly Hall at Edinburgh.

accomplished without making another more necessary. There is no possibility of strict conservatism in politics; there must be progress, or there is retrogression. Having settled the question of the Irish Church, the Gladstone Government found itself face to face with the Irish Land Problem. It had carried the one; but even the prestige of that victory would not avail them if they failed to do anything with the other. There had been some who said that the State Church was merely a sentimental grievance; but as an eminent Irish writer of the present day observes, if the land system were a grievance at all, it must be acknowledged that it was a terribly practical one.

The Irish Land System is one which has seldom been understood, simply because a bare and simple statement of the facts seems incredible. The upholders of it have instanced landlords who were all that could be wished, just as the upholders of slavery in our own country brought forward hundreds of cases in which the slaves were better off before than after emancipation; it would of course be impossible to find any state of affairs, however crying the evil, where there were not good men whose conduct ameliorated the evil as far as their influence extended; and there have been Irish landlords who have had consideration for their tenants, just as there were humane slaveholders. But a system which put such power into the hands of any body of men, some of whom were certain to misuse it, was at best a faulty one.

The Irish tenant held his land at the will of his landlord. If he cultivated the land so as to raise a greater crop than it had before produced, he showed that it was of more value than the owner had supposed it was, and his rent was raised. If he put any improvements upon the place, he added to its value, and his rent was raised. If the little farm seemed a desirable holding to any one else, and an offer were made to the landlord or agent in accordance with this opinion, the unfortunate tenant had reason to congratulate himself that his rent was simply raised, and that he and his family were not turned adrift to shift for themselves. The demand was so great that men would offer any price for land—a price which they must have known they could not get out of it. True, there was but a slipshod system of farming in vogue among them, but what more could be expected? There was literally no room for improvement, until a better law should widen the limits of their exertions.

It was not so in all parts of Ireland. There was one province in which the stronger law of custom had overcome the weaker written rule. The principle of "tenant-right" prevailed in Ulster—tenant-right, which Lord Palmerston, with more wit than humanity or justice, had defined as "landlord-wrong." A man was allowed to remain in possession as long as he paid his rent; he was entitled, on giving up his holding, to compensation for unexhausted improvements; and he was at liberty to sell what may be called the good-will of his farm for what it would bring in the market. Wherever this tenant-right principle prevailed, there was industry and prosperity; where it was unknown, there were idleness and poverty, with discontent and crime as their natural consequences.

How far the fact that this right had been asserted in Ulster and not in the other provinces was due to the character of the people, and how far the maintenance of it was due to the different estimation in which the inhabitants of the North and of the South were held in England, is a question which each must determine for himself. It is difficult to state one's opinion exactly without either unjustly accusing the English people of a religious intolerance, which made any act of oppression seem justifiable, or, on the other hand, exonerating them from a charge which is not in all respects undeserved.

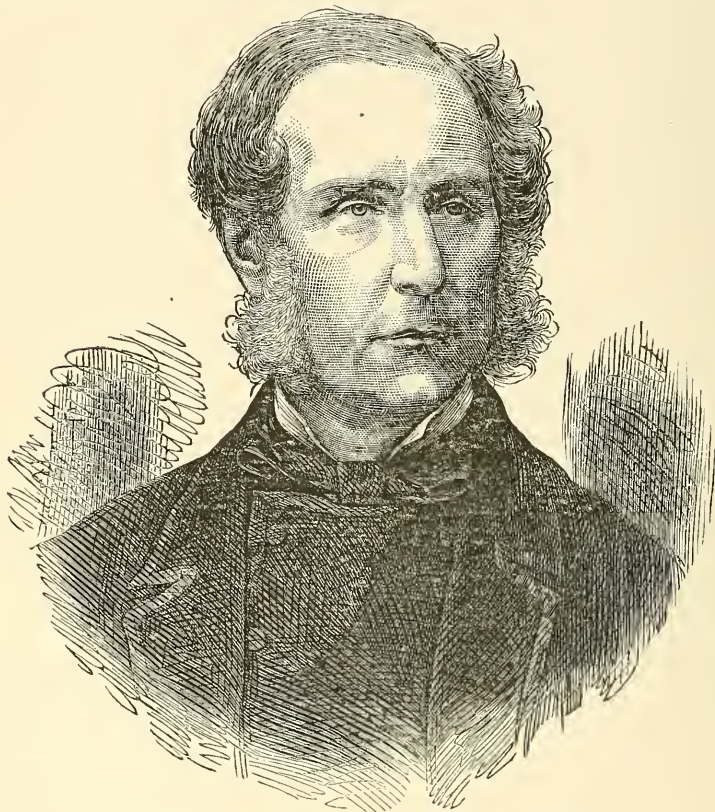
Such was the state of affairs when, on the 15th of February, 1870, Mr. Gladstone introduced his Irish Land Bill into the House of Commons. It was thought inefficient and unsatisfactory by some of the Irish members, and was for that reason opposed by them. The most that it did was to establish as the law for the whole island what custom had already made law in Ulster. Landlords, under certain conditions, were allowed to contract for themselves out of the provisions of the bill; and hence it arose that these opposing members appeared to be justified in their course by the fact that eventually there were more evictions, immediately after the passage of the bill, than there had been before.

If the bill were regarded as a half-measure by the Irish, it was not so esteemed by the landlords, who declared it to be revolutionary. It put an end to the landlord's absolute power, and recognized that the Government could interfere with the right of the land-owner, to limit it for the good of the community, just as it can interfere for the same purpose with the rights of others.

The bill was not put forward by the Government as a perfect measure. They had worked hard at it, Mr. Gladstone told the House, and it was the best that they could do; but they invited, in perfect good faith, the co-operation of all parties and all members in its improvement. They desired that the measure should be a great boon to Ireland, and put an end to the grievances and sufferings which her people had so long endured. They had not knowingly proceeded in any spirit of partisanship; and as they had afforded the occupier improved security of tenure, so they afforded the landlord a better security for his rent and for the better cultivation of his land. With regard to the Irish laborer, the only thing which they could hope to do for him—and it was a great thing—was to increase the demand for his labor; this would be done by stimulating the agricultural interests of the country; a course which, by making more demand for labor, would raise the price of it. The landlord might suffer some at first; but he would not ultimately be the loser. He believed that there was a store of undeveloped wealth in the Irish soil, which could only be developed by the joint action of landlord and tenant. He hoped that this bill would be accepted by both classes, because it was just. He said that the Government hoped by this measure to effect a great change in Ireland, but to effect it by gentle means. Every line had been carefully studied, so that it should import as little as possible of violent shock or alteration into the existent condition of things; it was desired that the operation of the bill should be like that of nature, when she restores upon a desolated land what has been laid waste by the hand of man. This they knew could not be done in a day. The evils had grown up through a long period of time, and could not be suddenly corrected without injuring many innocent persons. That the bill might pass, it was necessary to view it, not as the triumph of one class over another, or of party over party, but as a common work of common love and good-will to the common good of the common country. The only enduring ties by which Ireland might be united to England and Scotland were freewill and free affection.

The Opposition of course spoke against it with more or less effect—generally less. Sir Roundell Palmer, while he described the bill as large and important, called it a humiliating necessity; Mr. Disraeli said that “a more complicated, a more clumsy, or more heterogeneous measure was never yet brought before

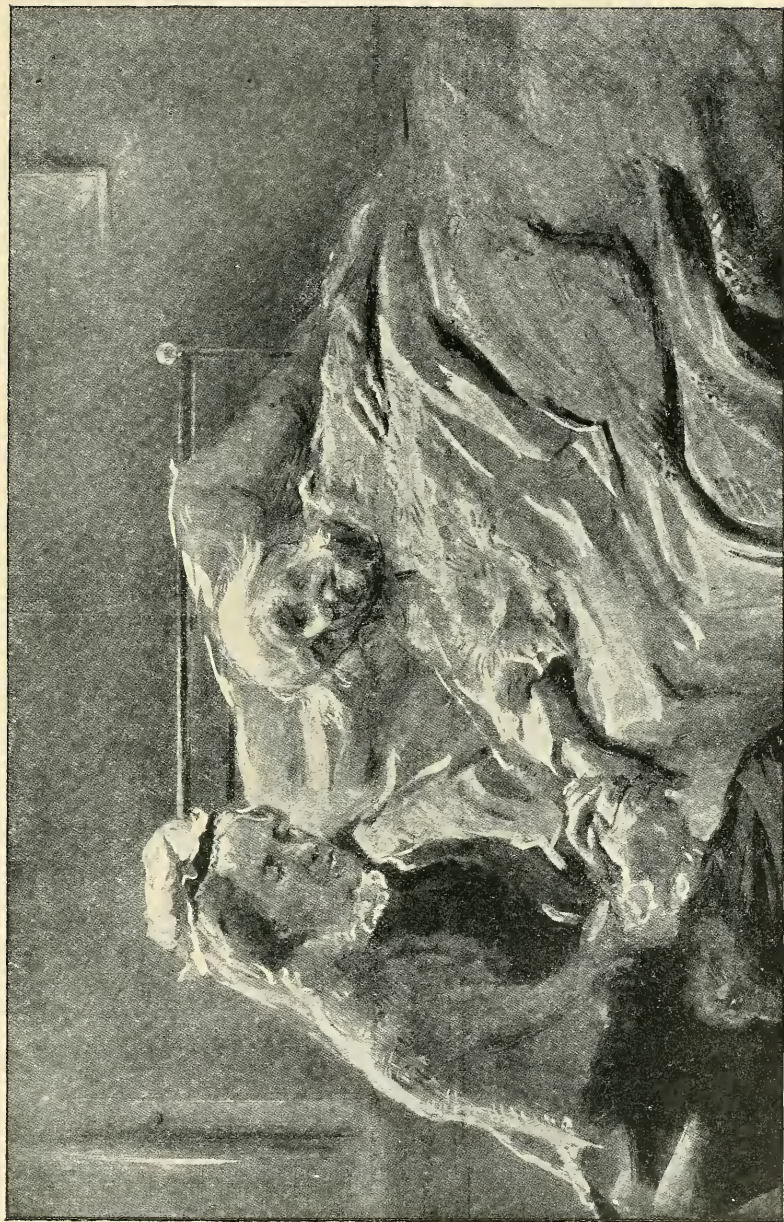
the attention of Parliament." The scheme of course included some means of enforcing the changes which were made, and Mr. Disraeli described at length, and with some effect upon the risibilities of the House, the difficulties which would beset the courts thus established.



Sir Roundell Palmer (afterward Lord Selborne).

In closing the debate, Mr. Gladstone had few arguments to reply to; the speeches of his opponents had been mainly invective. One portion of this speech well deserves place in our record, as an expression of the Government's duty:

"It is our desire to be just, but to be just we must be just to all. The oppression of a majority is detestable and odious; the oppression of a minority is only by one degree less detestable and odious. The face of Justice is like that of the god Janus. It



THE CLOSING SCENE IN THE LIFE OF MR. GLADSTONE

is like the face of those lions, the work of Landseer, which keep watch and ward around the record of our country's greatness. She presents the tranquil and majestic countenance towards every point of the compass and every quarter of the globe. That rare, that noble, that imperial virtue has this above all other qualities, that she is no respecter of persons, and she will not take advantage of an unfavorable moment to oppress the wealthy for the sake of flattering the poor, any more than she will condescend to oppress the poor for the sake of pampering the luxuries of the rich."

The Opposition had not intended to divide, but a division was forced upon them, with an extraordinary result. Mr. Disraeli and many of his influential supporters went into the lobby with Mr. Gladstone, so that the whole number of votes for the Government the first reading was four hundred and forty-two. The teller on the other side had an unusually easy time of it, for he had but eleven men to reckon over.

When the bill went into committee, there was more serious opposition. There were no fewer than three hundred amendments moved; one of which, proposed by Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Gladstone declared was an effort to overthrow one of the cardinal principles of the bill. Upon a division on this question the Government had a majority of seventy-six.

The further discussions in the House of Commons, prolonged as they were, did not affect the fortunes of the bill, which went up to the Lords at the end of May. It passed the Upper House without important alteration, and received the royal assent on the 1st of August.

Mr. Gladstone had said some time before this that the Irish Upas-tree had three Branches—the Established Church, the Land System, and the System of Education; and that he meant to hew them all down if he could. The figure met with not a little ridicule at the time it was used, but it expressed a resolute purpose, which was now two-thirds accomplished. Perhaps, in view of the principle before enunciated, that one reform is always followed by another, it would be nearer the truth to say that his purpose was almost accomplished; for certainly the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and the change which had been effected in the tenure of land, had gone a long way toward preparing men's minds for the fall of the third branch of that deadly tree.

The second important measure which had passed the House during this session related to elementary education in England and Wales, which was in a very unsatisfactory condition. The Government bill which was introduced by Mr. Forster, was based upon the principle of direct compulsory attendance. The Government and the Opposition agreed so cordially about this measure that the ire of some of the Liberals was aroused, and the Ministry were charged with having thrown the Non-conformists overboard, in order to secure the support of the Conservatives. The Premier had led one section of the Liberal party through the Valley of Humiliation, complained Mr. Miall, speaking on behalf of the Non-conformists, and they would not again be betrayed by him. "Once bit, twice shy," he concluded, "and we can't stand this sort of thing much longer."

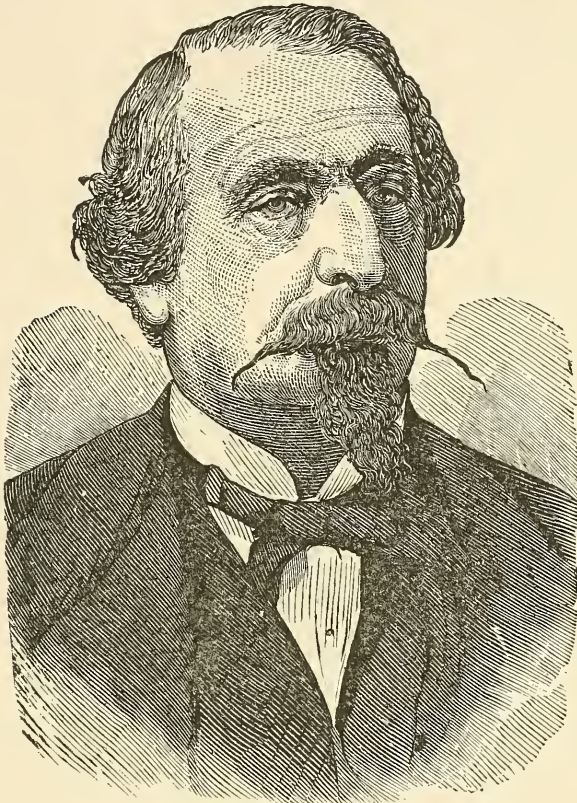
This speech stung the Premier to an unusually sharp retort. If they thought it better to withdraw for the sake of the cause which they had at heart, let them withdraw from the support of the Government. The Government did not want their support any longer than it was consistent with their own sense of duty and right. But when the Government thought that Mr. Miall and his companions had the interests of the communities which they represented too much at heart, to the detriment of the general interests, the Ministry which was willing to co-operate with them for the common good of all, could no longer aid them; they must then recollect that they were the Government of the Queen, and propose to themselves no meaner nor narrower object than the welfare of the Empire at large.

The measure eventually passed both houses, and became law, in spite of the protests of Messrs. Miall & Co.

A profound sensation was created in England by an outrage which was perpetrated in Greece during the spring of this year. A party of English tourists was seized by Greek brigands, and held for an enormous ransom in money coupled with a demand for certain immunities. An effort to rescue them resulted in the murder of the prisoners. The matter being formally brought to the attention of Parliament, the Government interfered with such effect as to secure the execution of many brigands, and almost complete extirpation of the band immediately implicated. It was thought at the time that this would lead to a complete investigation of the condition of Greece, but the stirring events elsewhere during the latter portion of the year caused it to be

forgotten by all except those families to whom it was a matter of sad interest, and who were obliged to content themselves with many sincere expressions of public sympathy.

During the latter days of the session of 1870, there arose the dispute concerning the succession to the Spanish crown which ended in the Franco-Prussian War. Isabella II. had abdicated



Emperor Napoleon III.

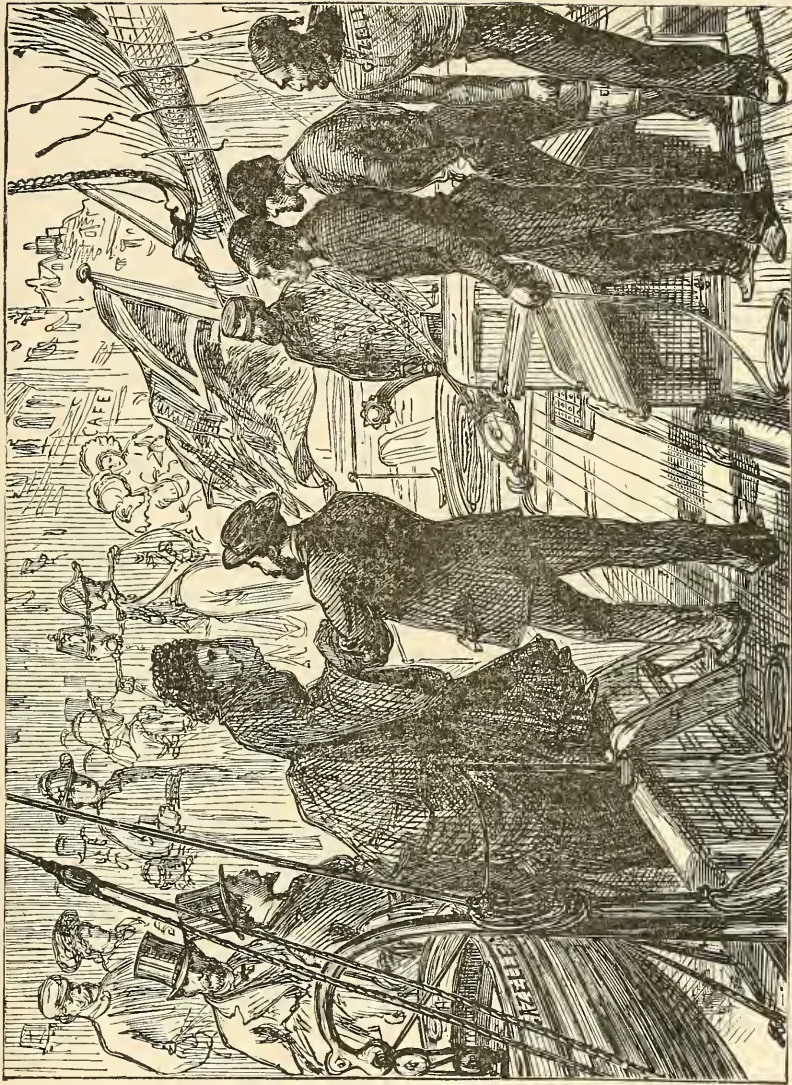
in favor of her eldest son, Alphonso, Prince of the Asturias; who was for some time a resident of England and a student at Woolwich; his nominal accession not bringing the cares of state with it for some years afterward. But the Powers were speedily busying themselves to find a successor to Isabella, whose forced abdication was due to circumstances which naturally drove the whole family from Spain, for the time at least. Prince Leopold

of Hohenzollern was nominated, but the candidacy of a Prussian prince filled France with alarm. Thence arose the quarrel; and even Leopold's withdrawal did not mend matters, as the Emperor persisted in making demands which the King of Prussia was unable to grant. Napoleon III. was smarting under the disgrace which had attached to his recent desertion of Maximilian, and had resulted in the deposition and execution of the Mexican Emperor: he had for some time been endeavoring to regain the ground thus lost, but vainly; a war would give him military prestige; and he determined upon war.

A very short time was sufficient to show that whatever military prestige the war might give was not for Napoleon III. In six weeks after the formal declaration was made, Napoleon was a prisoner, Eugenie a fugitive, France a republic. The sympathies of the English were at first with Prussia; and England had taken no small part in upholding the claims of Leopold. The Government, however, determined to preserve a strict neutrality. But the popular sentiment changed, and set strongly in favor of France, when the interests of that country were once divorced from the fortunes of the wily trickster so long at the head of her Government, and who was so generally disliked and distrusted by the mass of the English people. It was felt that Prussia, or rather Germany (for we must after this date speak of the empire of which the kingdom was the nucleus) had gone too far in its efforts to humiliate a conquered people; and the popular voice became clamorous on the other side. The English seem to have been in a warlike humor at this time, and determined to fight some one, it did not much matter who it might be; but fortunately for the nation, the good sense of the men at the head of affairs preserved her neutrality, and saved her from the curse of war.

Parliament was prorogued Aug. 10th, although much of the legislation which the Government had desired to carry through had been abandoned for lack of time. Two great reforms, however, had been accomplished in the passage of the acts relating to the Irish Land System and to elementary education; and it was likely that a Ministry which had begun with making such changes would not be content with the laurels thus acquired, but would with renewed energies attack other abuses.

There is one action of the Premier's during this session which deserves to be recorded, as an instance of the difference between the Gladstonian and the Tory views of the treatment of political



The Escape of the Empress Eugenie from France.

prisoners. The Fenians had actually offended against the laws, not only of the British Empire, but against those broader principles which are at the bottom of every legal system. They were in actual and open rebellion against constituted authority. As long, therefore, as that authority could uphold itself, just so long their rebellion was not revolution; and they must be punished as traitors. Whatever be our personal feelings with regard to the efforts which have been made, from time to time, for the liberation of Ireland, we must acknowledge that any government must punish rebels against its authority or consent to forego its right to govern. But with a generosity to the fallen, and with a wise recollection that persecution only strengthens a cause, Mr. Gladstone declined to prosecute the prisoners who were accused of treason. They would be released on condition of their not remaining in the United Kingdom, or returning to it. This course, he said in his letter to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, he believed was "perfectly compatible with the paramount interests of public safety, and, being so, will tend to strengthen the cause of peace and loyalty in Ireland."

During the recess, the Government had to deal with the vexed question of Russia's control of the Black Sea. The Czar had declined to recognize its neutrality any longer, and it was necessary for the Powers to take some action for the protection of Turkey and their own interests. A conference was held in London to discuss the question; and the assembled diplomats wisely concluded that as the Euxine was only a Russian lake anyhow, do what they would, the Powers might as well let that member of their body have control of it. There were certain concessions demanded for the Porte, and these, being chiefly matters of form, were granted; the Porte was permitted to open the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus for the passage of vessels of war of friendly and allied powers, in case it should be necessary for the maintenance of the treaty which closed the Crimean War; but the power of Russia was too great to be easily limited.

At the opening of the session of 1871, Mr. Disraeli severely criticised the foreign policy of the Government. The naval force particularly was the subject of his amusing sarcasm; and he entertained the House with an account of the "attenuated armament" which made impossible an armed neutrality. Mr. Gladstone retorted that what he now called an attenuated armament he had characterized as a bloated armament ten years before;

and showed conclusively that England was not to blame for not having secured the strict neutrality of the Black Sea, since all the Powers besides were opposed to the continuance of a state of affairs which all the statesmen of the day, including Lord Clarendon and Lord Palmerston, had believed would be only temporary.

The foreign policy continued to be the subject of discussion for some time, though the Leader of the Opposition would not bring the thing to a head by moving an amendment to the Address, or by any course which would cause a division to be taken. Mr. Herbert, however, soon brought forward a motion affirming that the House thought it the duty of the Government to interfere, together with other neutral Powers, to secure terms of peace as favorable as possible for the vanquished in the war which had cost Napoleon III. his throne. Mr. Gladstone answered that the attitude of the Government had not been one of selfish isolation, as the speaker had stigmatized it; that concerted action with Russia was impossible; that an extorted peace was what England had to fear; that the greater the magnanimity shown by the victor, the better it would be for all the neutral Powers, as well as for Germany herself; that neither of the belligerents desired the intervention of others; that England had no cause to be discontented with the position which she occupied in Europe, but that the action of neutrals, to be effective, must be concerted. Mr. Herbert finally expressed himself satisfied with the position of England, as stated by Mr. Gladstone, and withdrew his motion.

The marriage of the Princess Louise occurred in March of this year, and Parliament was of course asked to make some provision for her. The proposed grant aroused the opposition of some members, who affirmed that they represented the interests and sentiments of a considerable number of the people. The position of the ministry was warmly supported by its head, who defended the moderate nature of the grant asked for, and showed with what economy the royal expenditure was managed. He also dwelt upon the value of a stable dynasty, and the un-wisdom of making calculations of a minute nature upon such occasions. Whether the opposing members were converted to this view of the question, or simply absented themselves when it came to a vote, does not appear; but when the resolution for the marriage portion came to be reported, there was but one dissenting voice in a House of three hundred and fifty-one members.



Statue of Mr. Gladstone in St. George's Hall, Liverpool.



MRS. WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

The condition of affairs in Ireland again commanded the attention of the Government. The special difficulty at this time was the spread of an agrarian conspiracy in Westmeath and the adjoining counties. A motion was made for a committee to inquire into the existing state of affairs there, Lord Hartington, who was Chief Secretary for Ireland, admitting that it was with feelings of painful dismay that he did so. The lawless condition of things in that particular section, however, was no criterion of the general condition of the country. Crime had subsided, and the constabulary reports evidenced a marked improvement. In Westmeath, and the adjoining parts of Meath and King's County, however, the state of things had become intolerable, and the appointment of a committee was desired by the Government, so that when further powers were asked for, it would be certain that such additional authority was necessary for the maintenance of the peace. The policy of the Government was bitterly condemned by Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Hardy, who seems to have been at this time the right-hand man of the Tory leader. The Chief of the Opposition said that Mr. Gladstone was regarded by his party as having possession of the philosopher's stone, so far as Irish affairs were concerned; that he had come into power with an immense majority, for the express purpose of securing the tranquility and content of that country; that neither time, labor, nor devotion had been begrudged him; that under his influence, and at his instance, Parliament had legalized confiscation, consecrated sacrilege, and condoned high treason; destroyed churches, shaken property to its foundations, and emptied jails; and now he could not govern Ireland, without coming to Parliament for a committee. After all his heroic exploits, and at the head of his great majority, he was making Government ridiculous.

Mr. Hardy's denunciations were hardly less unmeasured. Murder was stalking abroad, he said; the Government was becoming contemptible; with much more to the same effect. Mr. Gladstone, who has always appeared to be as nearly insensible to personal attacks as it is possible for a man to be, and to content himself with defending the policy advocated by him, replied to these intemperate speeches with his accustomed coolness. Mr. Hardy's heated language was rebuked; but that was the duty of the Head of the Government which had been so insultingly characterized; and he announced that the Government could not, consistently with its sense of duty, withdraw the motion

for a committee. Mr. Disraeli's expressions seem to us severe; but Mr. Gladstone was happy to learn that the right honorable gentleman had got down to expressions so moderate and judicial as "legalized confiscation and consecrated sacrilege," after the language which he had used in opposing the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Mr. Disraeli had admitted that in 1852 he had not adopted the means which he believed most suitable for the protection of life and property in the three counties of Ireland, because the Government was weak. Mr. Gladstone made most effective use of this admission; and concluded by saying that the Government, acting upon its immediate elementary obligations, to secure personal peace and freedom in the transactions of life, felt assured of the endorsement of the House.

In a humorous speech by a member of the Opposition, the Cabinet was described as consisting chiefly of "Whig Marionettes;" the same speaker alluded to the changes which had been made in that organization as similar to a shuffling which left them in the same positions as at first. Over the door was plainly written the legend, "No Irish need apply." The Solicitor-General replied to these strictures in a speech which was an argument *ad hominem*; saying that if the last speaker were given an office he would speedily become a supporter of the Government; and that his boast that he was a member for an Irish constituency, and his self-gratulations on that honor, would last till the next general election. This rejoinder seems to have silenced the Opposition, whose chief strength lay in personal attacks; and the committee was appointed. After events fully justified the course of the Government in this respect.

An Army Regulation Bill was introduced by Mr. Cardwell, the Minister for War. This was the topic which excited the most interest of the session. His scheme for the reconstruction of the army included several changes of importance. The various branches of the service, regular troops, militia, volunteers, and reserve, were to be combined under one system of discipline. But the point which excited the most opposition was the provision that the purchase system should be abolished. This was a great abuse, which, like other abuses, had grown up so gradually that it has come to be looked upon by many as a necessary condition of the existence of the army. An officer bought his first commission, he bought his promotions, step by step. Mr. Cardwell's bill proposed to do away with this, and substitute pro-

motion by merit and seniority. Commissions were looked upon as vested interests, as personal property, for the holders of them had bought them, and expected to sell them on promotion or retirement.

The abolition of the purchase system had been advocated by generations of reformers, but without success. Because the army, when this was the rule, contrived to get along and do its duty in some sort of fashion, there were not wanting those who stoutly maintained that it was necessary; that if it were abolished, the army would waste away, and the military glory of Britain be forever at an end. For many years past there had been a motion for its abolition made annually by Sir DeLacy Evans; but his unwearied persistence came to be the laughing stock of many. Mr. Trevelyan had supported it, and Lord Stanley, whose cool good sense saw the advantages of the reform, had been its friend. But there were none of these who had both the will and the power to press the subject upon Parliament in such a way that there was no getting rid of it.



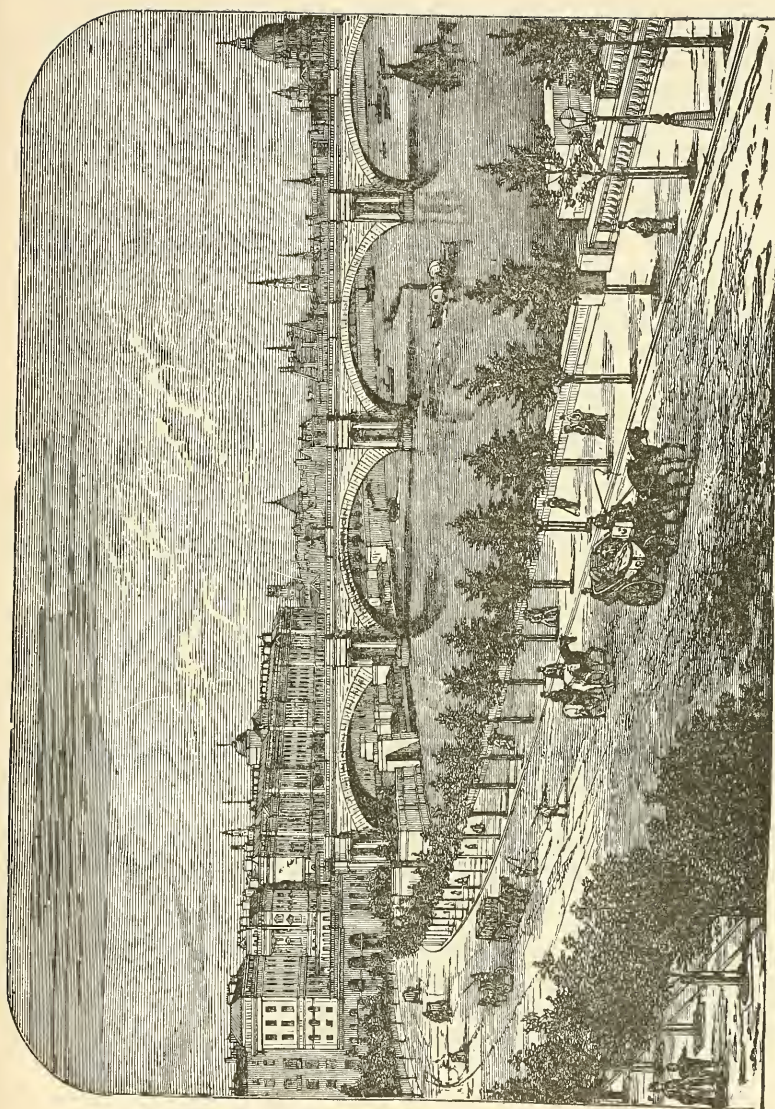
Rt. Hon. Edward Cardwell,

Mr. Gladstone, on his accession to power, had resolved to include it in the list of reforms to be attempted by his Government. Of course it was bitterly opposed. It was essentially a Liberal measure, in the sense that the Liberal party is the representative of the people as opposed to the aristocracy, of which the Conservative or Tory party is the natural exponent. As such the reform was acrimoniously opposed by the Conservatives, who were convinced that the aristocratic system was the only one under which the English army could prosper; that promotion by merit was too French or too American, or at any rate too un-English. They therefore proposed all manner of amendments, and offered all kinds of obstructions. The same arguments were repeated again and again, almost in the same words. Besides the

other objectionable features, it was far from being an economical measure, as the Government would be obliged to expend a large sum of money to re-purchase commissions held at the time that the system should be abolished. The Liberal Government had frequently been censured by the Opposition for its pinching parsimony, but here was an instance of unnecessary extravagance; and the Conservative orators made the most of it. Meanwhile, the session was wearing along; if the matter were not speedily settled, it would lie over until the next session, when it would have to be taken up again with all the disadvantage which attaches to a bill abandoned in one session and brought up again by the same Ministry in the next. The Government accordingly resolved to abandon the greater part of its complicated scheme for the reorganization of the army. The part of the bill which was nearest the heart of the Premier, was that which related to the purchase system; and this was almost all that was retained. Shorn of its fair proportions it passed the second reading, though not by a very large majority. Meanwhile the Lords had been looking on with alarm. If this reform were demanded by the Commons, they could not long resist it; but something must be done to express their sense of the national danger. The bill had not yet come before them for action, it is true; but for that they could not wait. At a sort of caucus of Conservative Peers, it was resolved that the Government should be asked for further information before the Lords considered the bill. It was worded cunningly; they did not object to the bill; they simply asked to what it was to lead. The amendment of the Lords was adopted, and the bill was got rid of for the present.

Meanwhile, Mr. Gladstone was the object of a good deal of abuse by the ultra Tories who so strenuously opposed the reform. The reason for this was the course which he took to defeat the Lords. It was an ingenious plan, the audacity of which almost took away the breath of the Opposition. Mr. Gladstone announced that as the system of purchase was the creation of royal regulation, he had advised the Queen to take the decisive step of cancelling the royal warrant which made purchase legal.

It was a blow for the House of Lords. Having made public beforehand what they were going to say, they found that there was no chance to say it. The only part of the bill which remained was that relating to the compensation of officers, but which had been deprived of their money value; to refuse to pass this would sim-



The Thames Embankment—London.

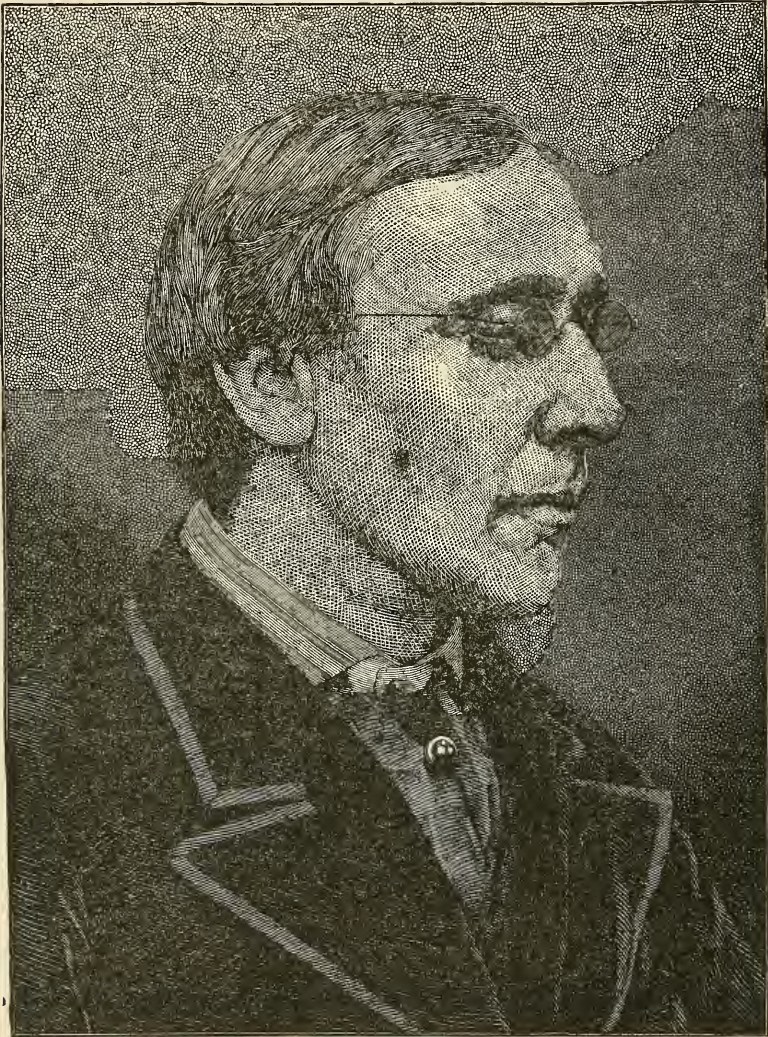
ply be to refuse the officers, for whose interests they were contending, the one small compensation which the Government would give them. Nothing was left for the House of Lords but to pass the bill as quickly as possible, and this they did; coupling its passing, however, with a resolution announcing that it was passed only in order to secure to officers of the army the compensation they were entitled to receive, and censuring the Government for having obtained, by the exercise of the Royal Prerogative, and without the aid of Parliament, that which Parliament was not likely to have granted.

When the course of the Government was announced in the House of Commons, it was received after a moment of bewilderment with a wild outburst of Liberal exultation. It was at once felt to be a splendid party triumph. But after the first enthusiasm of victory was over, there were not a few Liberals who, looking at it more coolly, saw it with less favorable eyes. It was then felt to have been an act of tyranny, almost; it was the exercise of the Prerogative to combat the will of Parliament. Of course, Mr. Disraeli and his adherents were the first to utter such censures, but they were echoed by men who had heretofore supported the Government.

Among the opponents of this course of proceeding, who had been counted among Mr. Gladstone's own friends, was Mr. Fawcett, whose eminence as a Parliamentary debater was achieved in spite of disadvantages (he was totally blind) which would have deterred many a man from the attempt. He was a thorough Liberal in principles, but absolutely independent of the expedients and sometimes of the mere discipline of party. If he believed that the Liberal Ministers were going wrong, he censured them as freely as if they had been Tories; on this occasion he felt strongly about the course which Mr. Gladstone had pursued, and did not hesitate to condemn it before the House.

Mr. Disraeli had characterized the action of the Government, and had reserved, until further consideration, the more objectionable epithet, illegal. There was no question of the legality of this step, however. At the advice of her principal Minister, the Queen had exercised what was undoubtedly her constitutional power. It was strictly in accordance with the forms which custom had prescribed. But it was generally felt to be an unfair course, one not sanctioned by the spirit of the constitution which had grown up by such slow degrees. The unfairness lay in this:

while the measure was before Parliament, to which it had been submitted with the tacit intimation, implied in its being pro-



Prof. Fawcett.

posed to the Houses, that their decision would be accepted, it was suddenly, upon the first hint of their rejection, taken from their jurisdiction, and placed in an entirely different position. If

the decision of the Lords and Commons were not to be final, the question should not have been submitted to them at all, but the Royal Prerogative invoked in the first place.

Certainly the reform was a much needed one, and the most violent Tory would not now desire the restoration of the system which was thus abolished; but whether or not Mr. Gladstone was justified in the means which he used for its abolition, is another question. It was doing evil that good might come; and that which is wrong in a moral point of view can hardly be right in politics. Had he not taken this course, there would certainly have been delay; the Lords would probably have rejected the bill; but it would have been for one session only. If it were re-introduced the next session, it would again be carried by the Commons, and the Peers would not again dare to reject a bill thus doubly approved by the representatives of the people; possibly it would have passed the Upper House the same session, though not, of course, immediately.

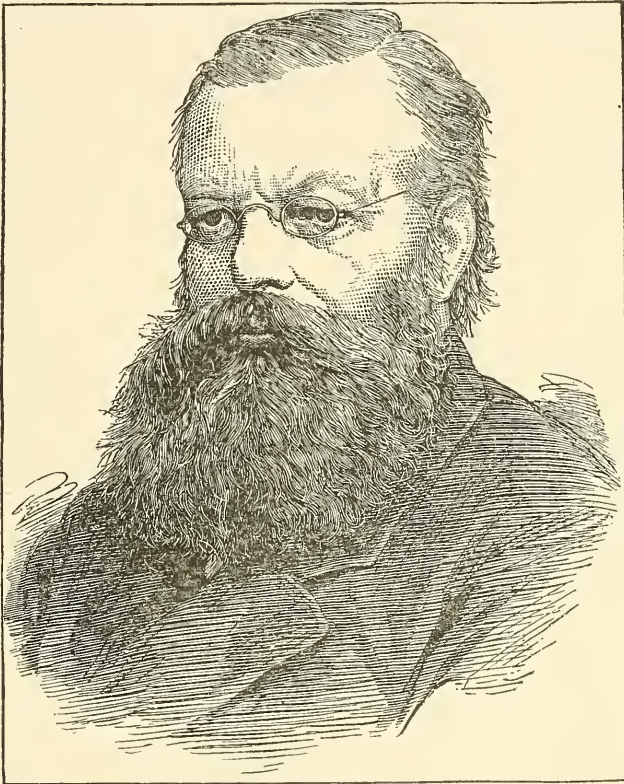
Whatever judgment we may now express on the matter, it was a course which brought about its own result. It was the cause of considerable loss of strength by the Government, whose majority was rapidly waning.

Another important measure which was brought before the House this session was the Ballot Bill. This dragged its slow length along the House of Commons, violently opposed by the Conservatives, and amended until it was but the skeleton of the original measure. It then went up to the Lords, where it was rejected by a considerable majority.

The Lords had rejected the University Tests Bill which had been introduced the previous year, but a measure which was substantially the same was again introduced by Mr. Gladstone this session, and finally carried. The Peers amended it, but the Commons rejected the amendment; then the Lords rejected the very amendment which they themselves had proposed, and the bill went through. The substance of this bill was that all lay students, of whatever creed, should thereafter be admitted to the universities on equal terms.

A bill to admit women to the franchise was proposed this session, but rejected. In a speech on the subject, the Premier caused a commotion in the House by the assertion of his opinion that if the ballot were established, he did not see why the franchise could not be extended to women.

Mr. Miall, the same Non-conformist who had threatened to leave the Liberal party, and who had been told by its head that he was at liberty to do so, brought forward a bill for the disestablishment of the Church of England. This was opposed by both Disraeli and Gladstone. The former announced his belief that



Mr. Edward Miall.

the great majority, both in the House and in the country, were in favor of the Church ; and he opposed the motion more for the sake of the State than of the Church. The Premier said that the Government was emphatically opposed to the motion, and showed clearly the distinction between the Irish Church, which had been a foreign church, engrafted by conquerors upon the people, and the English Church, which was essentially a national institution, and had grown up with the nation. Space does

not permit us to quote his eloquent words defending the Church from this assailant; he claimed it was the mere effort of a discontented sect to do away with what was firmly established in the hearts of the people.

There had been considerable trouble with the United States which at one time appeared to be growing beyond the bounds of peace. The United States Government had always resented the part which England took in the War between the States, claiming that neutrality was not preserved. We have already spoken of the manner in which the Alabama was built and sent out to sea, notwithstanding the protests of the United States representative. The British Government was held to be responsible for depredations which it had not tried to prevent. There were other subjects of dispute which had arisen, and each tended to make the others harder to settle peaceably. The threatened rupture was averted by a treaty concluded at Washington in May of this year, by which it was agreed to refer the disputed claims to two boards of arbitration, established by the treaty.

The Government was fated to sustain some severe defeats on several different questions. One of these was on the match tax. The abolition of purchase in the army made the estimated expenditure much larger than it had been in time of peace, and it was proposed in the budget of this year to meet the additional expense by means of a tax upon matches. There was a general outcry against this impost, which threatened, indeed, the whole trade. Mr. Lowe, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, finally found himself compelled to abandon this scheme, and to substitute an increase in the income tax for it. Several bills on financial subjects were abandoned by the Government when their failure became apparent.

A motion which proposed to secure the uninclosed portions of Epping Forest as an open space for the enjoyment of the people of the metropolis, was opposed by the Government, Mr. Gladstone stating that the Government had secured one thousand acres of the inclosure as a pleasure ground for the public; but the motion was carried by a considerable majority.

The loss of the *Captain* and the *Magera* caused the Admiralty to be gravely censured, but the conduct of the Board was elaborately defended. This was the last action of interest on the part of the Government or the Opposition, and the session came to an end early in August.

During the recess, Mr. Gladstone was again called upon to disavow membership of the Church of Rome. While he was for a long time, perhaps, the most popular of all Englishmen, he was well hated by a small portion of his countrymen, who never lost an opportunity of villifying him. The reader will find an instance of one of these haters by reading Jenkin's work on the subject of the great statesman's life; if that author's statements and sentiments are not here quoted, it is because they have not the value which criticisms uttered at the time of any particular action must have, and do not seem to be in other respects worthy of the space which they would require.

The question as to whether he was a member of the Catholic Church was put to him in a letter by Mr. Whalley, on behalf of his constituents of Peterborough. Mr. Gladstone, in reply, pointed out the insult which was contained in this question; since it presupposed that he had systematically concealed his religion, professing to belong to another church. He concluded: "If I have said this much upon the present subject, it has been out of personal respect to you. For I am entirely convinced that while the question you have put to me is in truth an insulting one, you have put it only from having failed to notice its true character, since I have observed during my experience of many years that, even when you undertake the most startling duties, you perform them in the gentlest and most considerate manner." The last sentence irresistibly recalls one of Disrael's happiest epigrammatic speeches or letters. The member for Peterborough was generally and severely condemned for permitting himself to be made the mouthpiece of such an uncalled for inquisition into Mr. Gladstone's religious opinions.

A speech of Mr. Gladstone's made during this recess has a peculiar interest, in connection with the attitude which he afterwards took upon a similar question; and his course upon this subject shows that capacity for growth which is manifested by few statesmen, unless they be of the highest rank. In receiving the Freedom of the City of Aberdeen, he alluded to the cry of the Irish for Home Rule. He said that he did not quite know what was meant by Home Rule; but he was glad to know emphatically that it did not mean a dismemberment of the Empire; and he hoped that all who heard him felt the same, and intended that the United Kingdom should remain united. The Irish people were more or less liable to become from time to

time the victims of this or that political delusion; but there was nothing that Ireland had asked which this Parliament had refused. There were no inequalities between England and Ireland, he maintained, except such as were in favor of the latter. But if the doctrines of Home Rule were to be admitted with respect to Ireland, he did not see why they should not be admitted with respect to Scotland and Wales, the latter especially as the people generally spoke the national tongue. Ireland might be conciliated, but Parliament had a higher duty to be performed than was included in conciliation; it had to do its duty, and if this were done, and it set itself right with the national conscience, with the opinion of the world, and with the principles of justice, its position would be invulnerable, whether Ireland were conciliated or not. To this speech even the most inveterate Home Ruler can give assent, affirming that when this is done Ireland will be satisfied; that the opinion of the world, and the principles of justice require all that Ireland demands; and that if the national conscience fell short, so much the worse for the regulators of it.

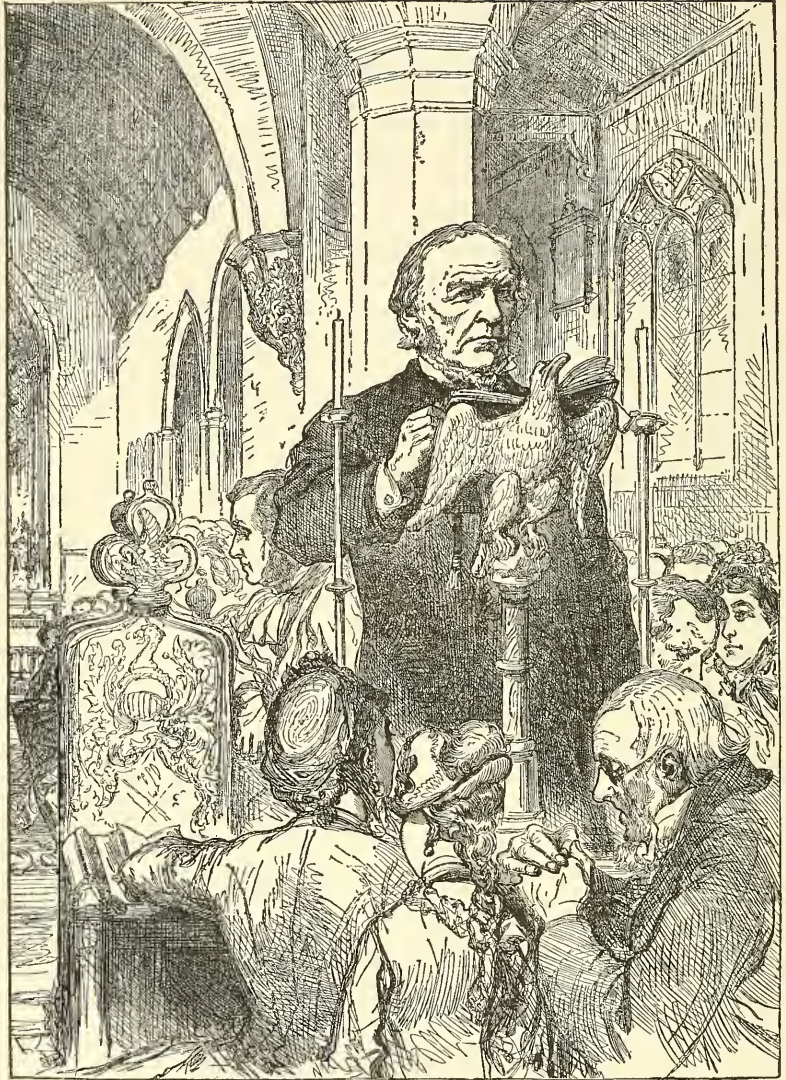
Mr. Gladstone defended the course of the Government in several other speeches during the recess; but the very fact that it required defense was in itself significant. The popularity of the Ministry was declining; many of the soberer Whigs were alarmed at the reforms which had been carried through. The more conservative members of the party were out of breath with the rapidity with which they had been hurried along from the abolition of one abuse to another; and they had begun to think that the Premier was a dangerously brilliant statesman. It was this feeling which induced a considerable number of his own constituents of Greenwich to draw up a petition requesting him to resign his seat for that borough. A meeting was called at the Lecture Hall in support of this requisition; but the Liberals repudiated all connection with the movement, and after a scene of considerable violence, the tables were turned upon the dissatisfied Whigs, and a vote of confidence was passed, which was received with a volley of cheers for the distinguished representative.

Perhaps the reason of this decrease in popularity was due to the elements of which the Cabinet was composed. Mr. Lowe and Mr. Ayrton particularly, were hard to deal with; for although they were both men of unquestioned ability, they were

not skillful in reading the popular pulse. However able were the measures which they advocated, they were almost sure to be such as could not by any possibility be carried. To make him responsible for the actions of such subordinates was to impose upon the First Minister of the Crown a burden such as no man could bear for many months.

During October of this year Mr. Gladstone made his famous speech on Blackheath, to an audience of some twenty thousand persons. This address, which was in the main a review of the history of the last Parliamentary session, occupied two hours in its delivery. Mr. Gladstone was introduced to the vast assembly by Mr. Angerstein, but such was the confusion that not one word of the introduction could be heard ten feet away. There was loud cheering when Mr. Gladstone stood forth; but in the intervals there was heard a steady, persistent hissing. As he seemed about to speak, an intense silence fell upon the vast crowd; but the first word that he uttered was a signal for a fearful din. From all around the skirts of the crowd arose something between a groan and a howl; while, as if to drown this, the Liberals present again began to cheer. Still in the intervals between the cheering was heard the hissing. At last there came to them something of a sense of shame, at not allowing this man to be heard in his own defense. While the battle had raged so fiercely between the two conflicting sounds, Mr. Gladstone had stood looking straight at the excited crowd—calm, resolute, patient. Perhaps it was this bearing which gained him a hearing at last. At any rate the confusion subsided, and after that he may be said to have had it all his own way. Of course, there were instances when he was interrupted by their cries, but they were comparatively few. When at length the speech was over, and the question was put, it being substantially whether Mr. Gladstone had cleared away from the minds of his constituents the fog of prejudice and ill-feeling that unquestionably encircled him and his Ministry, the affirmative reply was given in bursts of tumultuous cheering, as earnest as ever greeted and satisfied any political leader. He had thrown himself upon the sympathies of the great mass of the people, and their verdict had not disappointed him.

This unpopularity of the Ministry did not mean that they had deserved the censure of the people. The Liberal Government had come into existence because the people demanded that cer-



Mr. Gladstone Reading the Lessons at Hawarden Church.


tain abuses should be reformed, and the Conservatives were unwilling to carry through the measures which would accomplish this. The Liberals had made the reforms which were demanded; but they were now as far ahead of public opinion as the Conservatives had been behind it. Nor was this all; many changes necessarily weaken every Government; for there are none so necessary to the great body of the people but what they are distasteful to individuals, and will be opposed by them. The Gladstone Ministry had offended many; some by this reform, some by that; their day was beginning to draw to a close; high noon was long past.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FIRST GLADSTONE MINISTRY.

(CONTINUED.)

Dangerous Illness of the Prince of Wales—Trouble on the Liquor Question—Gladstone's Sharp Retort on Disraeli—Army of Titmouses—Ballot Bill Again Introduced—Third Attempt to Settle the Irish Question—Justice to Ireland—Gladstone Determines to Resign—Important Changes in the Ministry—Disraeli's Manifesto—Circular to the Liberal Members of Parliament—Bill for the Regulation of Public Worship—Endowed Schools—Gladstone's Retirement from the Leadership of the Liberal Party—Preparing for New Legislation—Active Interest in Public Affairs.

HE year 1872 began with a Thanksgiving Service in St. Paul's Cathedral, for the recovery of the Prince of Wales from that attack of typhoid fever which had threatened his life the previous autumn. This royal progress somewhat drew off the public attention from the proceedings of Parliament, for a time; and perhaps the new popularity of the heir to the throne had something to do with the fact that there was no specially popular statesman at this time. There must always be some idol for the people; Gladstone had lately held that position, but had lost it; Disraeli was the man who would naturally have stepped into the place thus vacated, had the circumstances not put forward a figure encompassed with the fictitious splendor of royalty.

It was for this reason that, while there were many to predict the downfall of the Government during the session of 1872, there were none who were able to point to a combination which was strong enough to hold its own after the displacement of Gladstone's Ministry. As a journal of the time remarked, it was a "spiteful problem *in maxima* and *minima*—how to inflict on the Government the maximum of discredit with the minimum of immediate result. The great question now is: Can the Government, even with the cordial help of its many open enemies and insincere friends, manage to receive the tokens of the accumula-

ted dislikes of so many different sections, and yet survive the session?"

At the very beginning of the session, the struggle began. In his speech upon the Address to the Throne, Mr. Disraeli remarked upon the frequent expositions of the Government's policy which had been made during the recess. "We really have had no time to forget anything," he complained; "Her Majesty's Ministers may have been said during the last six months to have lived in a blaze of apology." He again brought up the question of the Admiralty's responsibility for the loss of two vessels; he found fault with the Treaty of Washington, and demanded to be informed if the Americans agreed to the interpretation which the English Government had put upon it; he referred sarcastically to the third branch of the Upas Tree of Ireland; and condemned the Government for preferring the Ballot Act to the Mines Regulation Act and important sanitary legislation.

Mr. Gladstone's answer was of course a justification of the Government. The concessions that had been made by England in the treaty of Washington were justifiable, and the Americans had by their silence accepted the interpretation which the English Government put upon certain clauses, which allowed room for difference of opinion. The treaty was not ambiguous in any of its parts; and there was a friendly feeling between the two countries. The Leader of the Opposition was assured that he was mistaken in regard to his assumption about Irish education, which would be taken up by Parliament at the earliest possible moment; and he was assured likewise that the Government would furnish every assistance in the investigation of the charges against the Admiralty.

Two appointments made under the authority of Mr. Gladstone gave rise to much debate, and finally showed how great was the loss of strength which the Government had suffered since coming into power. It was desired to place Sir Robert Collier, the Attorney General, on the bench of a new Court of Appeal, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. But for this position none were eligible except those who had been judge of one of the ordinary courts. To qualify him in this particular, he was appointed to a Puisne Judgeship of the Court of Common Pleas. There was no question as to his real fitness for the position; it was admitted that he had helped the Government out of a difficulty by taking an appointment which several judges had de-

clined, and which had not quite such a position as that which the traditions of his office entitled him to expect. But it seemed to many as if it were something of a trick, this act which passed him through one court in order to give him a technical qualification for another. The Premier was accused of casuistry, of Jesuitism; and the whispers that he was at heart a Catholic were renewed at this evidence of his following in the footsteps of the famous order. So strong was the feeling that a vote of censure was moved in both Houses; the Lords rejected it by eighty-nine to eighty-seven, which was doing fairly well for the Conservative Chamber; but when it came before the House of Commons upon a similar proposition, the Government's majority was found to have dwindled to twenty-seven.

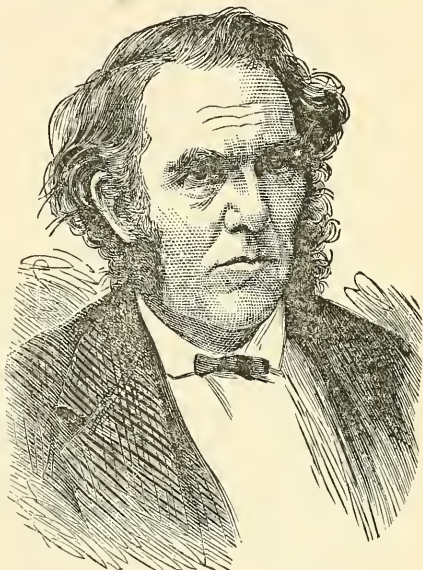
Another appointment was of a somewhat similar character. A clergyman was to be appointed to a living which must be filled by a member of the Convocation of Oxford; the Rev. W. W. Harvey, a graduate of Cambridge, was made a member of this body by the University of Oxford, and was then presented to the Rectory of Ewelme. As in the former case, there was no question of fitness; the technical qualification had been provided, in order that a man possessing all other qualifications might be appointed; but Mr. Gladstone was criticised as severely as if he had given the places to men for whom he had provided the only qualifications they possessed.

The Government had got into trouble on the liquor question. The United Kingdom Alliance for the suppression of the Liquor Traffic was represented in Parliament by Sir Wilfred Lawson, who advocated the doctrine of Prohibition in speeches which never failed to amuse and finally interest his listeners. At the instance of the Alliance, an effort was made to regulate the trade in liquors; but the measure which was proposed by the Government pleased neither side; the Prohibitionists looked disdainfully upon it as a half-measure, and the liquor-dealers of all classes saw in it only a renewal of that hostility to them and their trade which Mr. Gladstone had already shown, when he advocated that innovation upon the traditional ways of England by which light wines were allowed to be sold by grocers and pastry-cooks.

There was a war of repartee, in which Mr. Gladstone was not the vanquished, when Mr. Ayrton's bill for the Regulation of Parks came before the House. Mr. Hardy stigmatized the Gov-

ernment's efforts to throw the responsibility of certain by-laws for the parks upon Parliament as a cowardly proceeding; whereupon Mr. Gladstone rebuked him for bringing an acrid and venomous spirit into the debate, and said that it was the late Government whose bungling and feeble conduct had led to the present difficulties. This brought Mr. Disraeli to his feet, who accused Mr. Gladstone of sitting sullen and silent when the question was before discussed, and only expressing himself to the crowd which gathered about his residence. Mr. Gladstone retorted with a quotation from that speech of Sheridan's in which the brilliant wit accuses his opponent of drawing upon his memory for his jokes and his imagination for his facts; and advised Mr. Disraeli, before he accused others of forgetting the course they had formerly pursued, to practice what he preached, and be sure that his accusations were well founded. The shot told home, and the cheers and laughter of the House were renewed when Mr. Gladstone told Col. Gilpin, a member of the Opposition who had renewed the attack, that he did not think the imagination which prevailed on the front bench had extended so far back as the third and had infected that row of members.

The session of 1872 is remarkable for one of the most tumultuous scenes which ever took place in the House of Commons. Sir Charles Dilke had, during the previous autumn, been making himself notorious as an advocate of Republicanism. He had during that time been the best abused man in Great Britain; the comic papers and theatrical burlesques had made free with his name; the telegraph had carried his doings everywhere; newspaper correspondents had interviewed him, and then held him up to ridicule as the "President of England." When the Prince of Wales was



Lord Littleton.

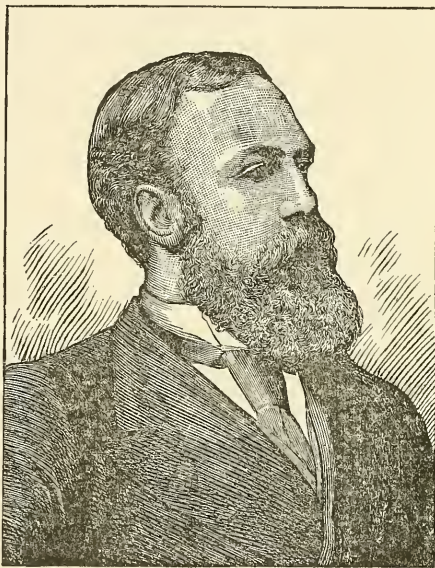
taken sick, the abuse which was heaped upon Dilke was such as might have been merited if he had had a hand in filling the royal system with the germs of disease. And yet, he was not so far ahead of the time. The countries of Europe, which had at first looked upon the establishment of the American Republic as an experiment which was doomed to speedy failure, had come to have their doubts about it when fifty years and more passed by, and the United States still flourished. An eminent French political economist had declared that the only test which it had not stood was a great war; if it should be thus tried, and should come out triumphant from the ordeal, there was no other danger. The war had come; the very earth had yawned, as if to engulf the structure, which was shaken to its foundations; but that structure stood firm; and the seven years which had passed since the earthquake ceased had seen that "bloody chasm," about which we have heard so much, gradually closing. It was apparent then that a republic was possible, and the recent events in France had led the English to think a European republic might be as stable as the American. There has always been more or less republican sentiment on the surface of the radicalism of Great Britain; and Dilke had but crystallized this in his own mind, and given it expression.

He had been challenged to repeat in the House of Commons the statements which he had made in the country; so in March he brought on a motion for inquiring into the manner in which the income and allowance of the Crown are expended. Whatever we may think of the wisdom of the man who thus tackled, almost single-handed, a system which had been growing for more than a thousand years, and which limitation and change had but rendered more stable, we cannot but admire his courage in thus facing the House where all, save two or three, were bitterly opposed to what he advocated. He faced his antagonists with dogged calmness; he brought forward his array of facts and figures, and presented them with well-arranged arguments; but his quiet, dry and labored style was far from being eloquent, and the House began to grow apathetic before he was nearly through.

The duty of answering such a demand of course devolved upon the First Minister of the Crown, and Mr. Gladstone did so with a zeal and warmth which surprised those who thought him half a Radical, and almost a sympathizer with Sir Charles Dilke

himself. No one thought that he could be so passionately merciless as he showed himself to be. He said that a detailed refutation of the charges against the Crown's extravagant expenditure would be impossible without some previous notice; but he asserted that the information now before the House in another form would show that the Civil List had been largely reduced during this reign as compared with the two preceding it. He concluded by asking the House to reject the motion without further discussion.

The Speaker had not ruled against the motion as irregular, and the mover and seconder were therefore entitled to be heard. But when Mr. Auberon Herbert arose to second it, the scene which ensued was, it is to be hoped, one which was never witnessed before and will never be repeated. The author of a noted novel has told us how Tittlebat Titmouse defeated a measure against which his whole party was powerless, simply by his imitations of the crowing of a cock, which caused a diversion and gave the members time to alter their minds. There was a small army



Sir Charles Dilke.

of Titmouses present, to all appearance; and the crowing, hooting, groaning, hissing, howling and yelling, drowned the voice of the unfortunate speaker completely. Nothing daunted, he waited until the cries had lulled sufficiently to permit him to be heard, though still with difficulty, when he apologized for Sir Charles Dilke, who had been far from wishing to make a personal attack upon the Sovereign, and announced that he, too, preferred a republican form of government. Here a considerable number of members arose and left the House, while those who remained renewed the noises which had before pre-

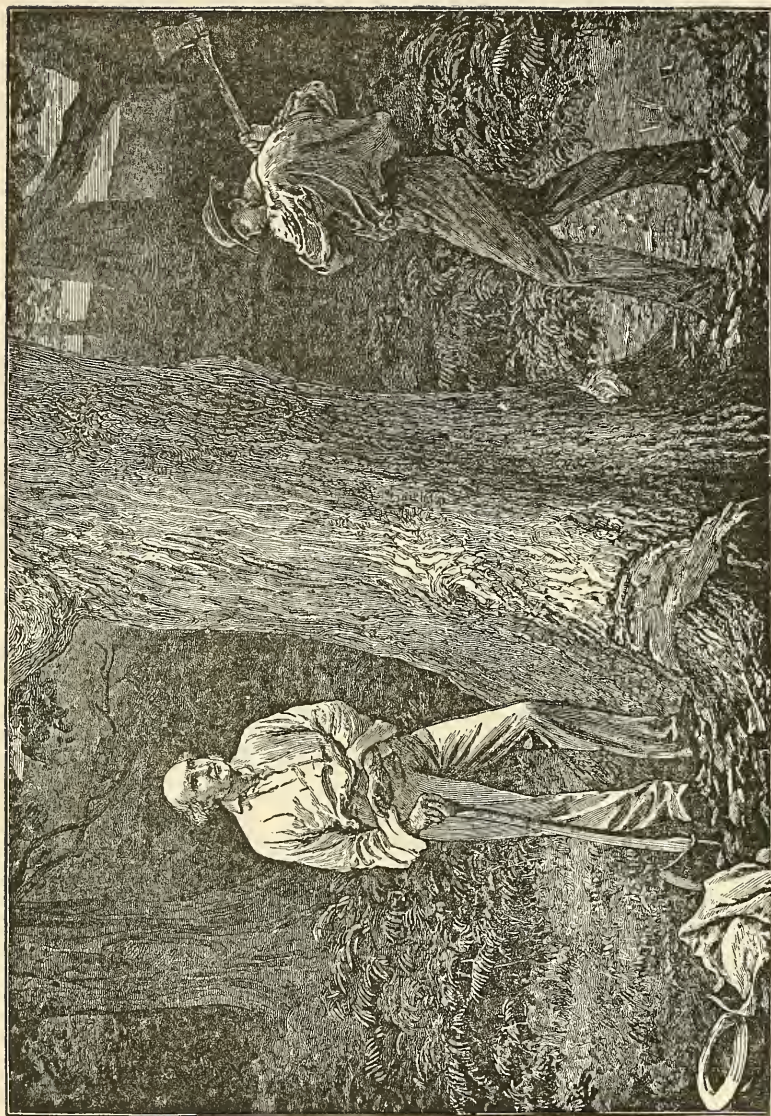
vented his being heard. Mr. Herbert sent out for a glass of water with as much *sang froid* as if his speech had been greeted with cheers, and continued speaking; but the remainder consisted merely of disjointed sentences.

Many times during the period that he remained upon his feet he was interrupted by demands that the House be counted. No less than three counts were taken, but each time it was found that there were more than forty members present. At last the Speaker's attention was blandly called to the fact that there were strangers present. This, of course, included the reporters; and while the Speaker can be as blind as he pleases to their presence upon all other occasions, the instant a member of the House informs him that there are others than members present, he is bound to order their expulsion. The remainder of the debate was then without witness save the members themselves; and the absence of the outsiders did not conduce to the orderliness of the debate. The question was at last put, and the result showed 2 ayes to 276 noes, those members who had left the House having returned in the meantime.

The Ballot Bill was again introduced this session. An amendment was proposed, which was carried against the Government; but a modified form of it being accepted by the Ministry, the bill finally prevailed and went up to the Lords. It was there amended and sent back to the Commons, where the changes were at first hotly contested; but eventually a compromise was effected, and this important measure, effecting a complete change in the system of voting, became a law. Mr. Gladstone had the satisfaction of seeing the first elections conducted under the law which had been one of his darling projects, of the most orderly and satisfactory character.

But while such an important measure excited little comment in the country at large, there was another subject on which the popular feeling was at white heat. This was the Alabama claims, as presented before the Arbitration Commission at Geneva. Much to the surprise of the English, it was found that the United States claimed compensation for indirect losses as well as direct; and Mr. Gladstone was violently assailed for his assurances that the treaty permitted but one interpretation. It was only another instance of his nice distinctions being misunderstood by intellects of less subtle keenness.

The Commissioners finally decided that the British Government



A Holiday Tusk at Hamarden—Mr. Gladstone Cutting Down a Tree.

was not justly liable for claims for indirect damages, but was to pay for direct injuries inflicted by the Alabama, the Florida and the Shenandoah. The sum total awarded to the United States was a little more than one-third of the original claim.

The session of 1872 was not a barren one, as far as the enactment of laws relating to domestic affairs was concerned. Not only the Ballot Act, but various others, relating to the regulation of mines, the adulteration of food, the public health, and licensing, owed their final enactment to this session.

Fifteen years after the date of which we are writing, one of the great London dailies styled the Irish Question "the Old Man of the Sea of Parliament." The comparison is no inapt one, and is unfortunately likely to be applicable for a long time to come. The Gladstone Ministry had made two great attempts to settle it, but there was a third task to be undertaken before they should have accomplished all that had been promised in their original programme.

Feb. 13th, the Government introduced the bill which it was hoped would hew down the third branch of the Upas Tree. It dealt altogether with the state of education in Ireland. In his speech introducing the bill, Mr. Gladstone showed that so far from the Queen's Colleges which had been established, being the means of increasing educational facilities, they seemed rather to have alienated the Irish still further; for the number of collegiate students in 1872 was actually less than it had been in 1832. The Roman Catholic population of Ireland contributed but one-eighth of the whole number of students, and of these not more than one-half would in England be ranked as university students. The bill provided for the abolition of all religious tests; for the incorporation of Dublin University and the union of the Queen's Colleges with it; for the maintenance of all the chairs usual in such institutions of learning which were not incompatible with perfect religious equality for the students; this latter exception excluding, as was specially stated, chairs in theology, moral philosophy, and modern history. The Government hoped that this bill would conciliate the Catholics by the concessions which were made to them, and the English Liberals would be pleased with its moderation. But as is usually the case when the attempt is made to please two parties of opposite opinions by one and the same measure, each one saw what the other was intended to see; the Catholic Bishops denounced the measure, and

while they did not decline what it offered, let it be known that they wanted much more; the Catholic members, who had been expected to be its warmest supporters, were its bitterest opposers; and the Liberals objected strongly to the proposed omissions from the curriculum.

At the request of Mr. Disraeli, the second reading of this bill was postponed until the beginning of March; as the opposition desired time to consider so important and complicated a measure. It was then demanded that the Government should specify the members of the governing body which the bill proposed for the university; but this was, as Mr. Gladstone pointed out, impossible; as the positions could not be offered until the bill had made some progress in committee, nor until there was some prospect that there would be positions to accept. The opposition to the bill was remarkable both for the variety of the arguments and the diversity of the parties represented by those who spoke against it. The debate ended with speeches by Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone. The ex-Premier's oration was a brilliant one, though not always relevant to the subject; it called forth vehement cheering from the members on the Opposition benches. Before this had fairly subsided, Mr. Gladstone arose to reply. His powerful speech was a summing up of the arguments *pro* and *con*, and a strengthening of those for the bill, with an appeal to the House for the justice which was demanded. In his eyes, it was all that was necessary to satisfy Ireland; all that justice demanded for her; and so the conclusion of his speech assured them:

“To mete out justice to Ireland, according to the best view that with human infirmity we could form, has been the work, I will almost say the sacred work of this Parliament. Having put our hand to the plow, let us not turn back. Let not what we think the fault or perverseness of those whom we are attempting to assist have the slightest effect in turning us even by a hair's breadth from the path on which we have entered. As we have begun, so let us persevere even until the end, and with firm and resolute hand let us efface from the law and practice of this country the last—for I believe it is the last—of the religious and social grievances of Ireland.”

All the eloquence of this speech, however, was not sufficient to convince those who were opposed to it; and the division showed that the Government was in a minority of three. Upon this defeat they had not counted, as the bill had at first met

with a favorable reception; even Mr. Horsman, who had violently opposed it on the second reading, had in a letter to Mr. Lowe, written immediately after the first presentation of the bill, spoken of it in the most favorable terms; the letter was read to the House during the debate, but seems to have produced no effect upon the Opposition. Questioned some years afterward regarding this measure, Mr. Gladstone said that considering the extremely favorable reception with which the bill had met at the outset, he was most emphatically astonished at its ultimate fate.

Although the majority of the Opposition had been so small, the importance of the measure which the Government had wished to carry was such that Mr. Gladstone determined to resign; and he did so at once. But then arose a peculiar difficulty. Disraeli was his only possible successor; but it would have been impossible for him to form a Government, with the majority of the House of Commons opposed to him, as it undoubtedly was; a few days later, therefore, Mr. Gladstone announced that he and his colleagues had consented to resume the positions which they had felt obliged to resign. Mr. Disraeli's refusal to accept office had been unconditional, and Mr. Gladstone contended that his action was contrary to precedent and parliamentary usage. Mr. Disraeli replied that a considerable part of the majority against the Government in the late contest consisted of Liberals, with whom he had no bond of union whatever. A Government could not well dissolve without entering upon its duties, and there was at present nothing to dissolve upon; such a course required some definite policy, to be submitted to the electors for their decision. Mr. Gladstone, he said, had resigned upon very inadequate grounds; and his return to office was the best possible solution of the difficulty. He had had some experience of the difficulty of carrying on a Government in the face of a majority opposed to it, and was not anxious to try it again.

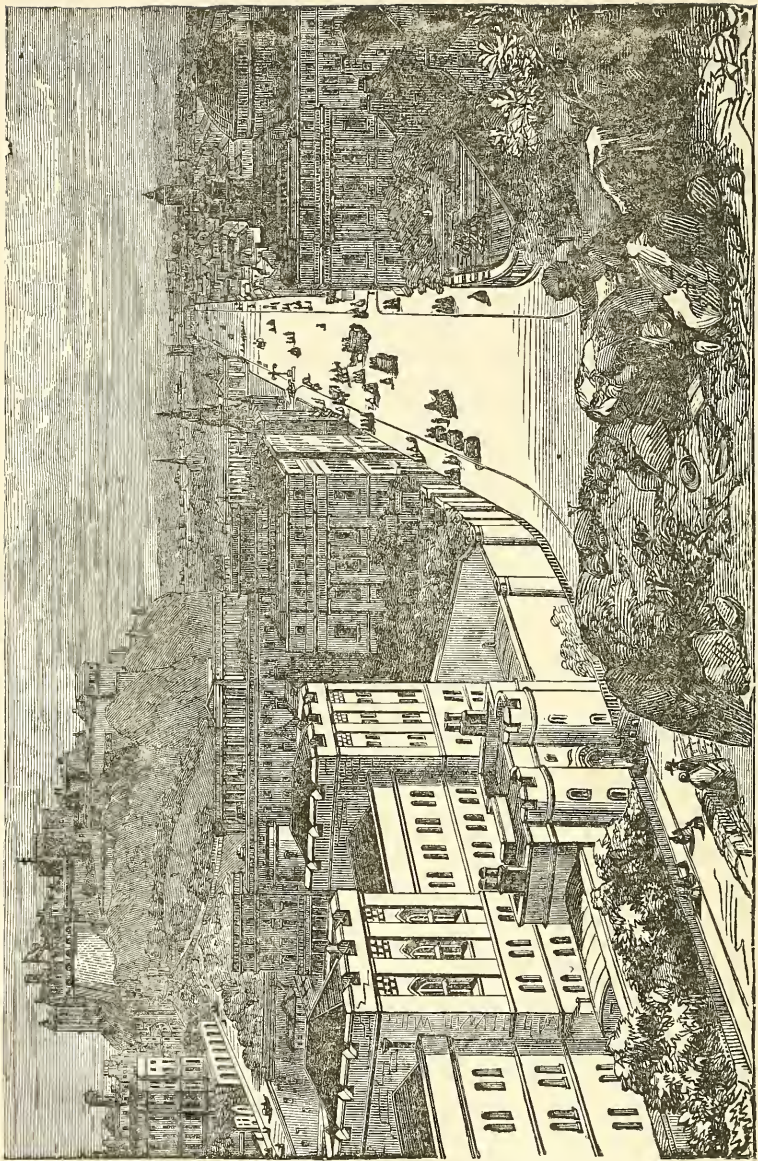
Mr. Fawcett, who had strenuously opposed the Irish University Bill, brought forward a measure relating to the same subject, during this session; the changes made were such that it became simply an abolition of religious tests before it was carried. There were several bills relating to financial measures, which were carried by the Government. Mr. Miall pressed the Bill for the Disestablishment of the English Church, which was opposed by Mr. Gladstone in the strongest speech made during the de-

bate; and a proposal to permit laymen and Dissenters to deliver sermons in the churches was also negatived.

Shortly after the close of the session, there were some important changes in the Ministry. Mr. Lowe having resigned the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone undertook the double duties of that office and of those of the First Lord of the Treasury. Three other members of less note, Lord Ripon, Mr. Childers, and Mr. Baxter, retired; and Mr. Bright re-entered it as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The Government grew more and more unpopular as time went on. Its reforms had been too sweeping and sudden; they had frightened the people, whom the Conservatives easily convinced that everything was in danger from this mania for change; the by-elections which had taken place were all considerable Conservative victories; not only was the Bible in danger from the course which the Liberal Government had taken with regard to the Irish Catholics, but the changes which had been made in the license law threatened Beer. Says one of Mr. Gladstone's most reliable and minute biographers: "The joint flag of 'Beer and Bible' having been hoisted the cry against the Ministry became irresistible."

Mr Gladstone recognized that it would not be long after the meeting of the new session before he would be compelled to resign; he foresaw the difficulties into which the Opposition, thus transferred to the Treasury Benches, would be thrown; and he knew that evil to the country would result from a weak Government. In these circumstances, he determined to appeal to the country, that, if his course were approved, he might have the strength necessary to carry out his measures; if it were disapproved, there would be fewer obstacles in the path of his successors. He probably had little hope of the result when, on the 23rd of January, he issued a manifesto to the electors of Greenwich, announcing that the existing Parliament would be dissolved without delay; and writs immediately issued for a general election. This document, which was an unusually long one, is fairly entitled, from its political and historical importance, to rank as a state paper. Reviewing the history of that Parliament, he retraced the steps by which the Cabinet had proceeded, from an overwhelming popularity to the present state of unpopularity; and admitting that the state of affairs had not improved during the recess, asked that the people should show that they



View of Edinburgh from Calton Hill.

were with the Government which had wrought such important reforms. He reviewed the policy which had been pursued in financial matters, and promised a reduction of taxation for the future. Referring to the charge which the Conservatives had not hesitated to make, that the Liberal party had endangered the institutions and worried all the interests of the country, he denied its truth, and claimed that if any were offended, it was because the Government had honestly tried to do all that was in its power to promote the highest interests of the nation. He challenged a comparison between the years of Liberal and the years of Tory rule, with their results.

The newspapers of the day, of course, accorded a reception to this address which varied with the standpoint generally taken. On the one hand, the *News* said that it was a policy which would revive the enthusiasm of the Liberal party, and greatly benefit the country; on the other hand, the *Standard* declared that the policy followed must be described as one of surprise and intrigue.

Mr. Disraeli lost no time in issuing a manifesto to his constituents, as a reply to this address of Mr. Gladstone's. It was brusque, in some parts at least; and its flippancy contrasted as strangely as usual with the dignity and gravity of Mr. Gladstone's style.

Parliament was dissolved the 26th of January, and the new House was summoned to meet March 5th. Thus there was but a little over a month for the electioneering campaign, and it began in good earnest. It was the first general election at which the voting was by ballot, and it passed off with orderliness and peace. The result showed considerable gains for the Conservatives, that party having a majority of forty-six votes in a full house. There were many interests arrayed against the Ministry which had instituted so many reforms; and there were some whose support was given to the Conservatives in the hope that there would be legislation for their benefit as soon as a Tory Ministry took charge of affairs.

As soon as the national verdict was known, Mr. Gladstone placed his resignation in the hands of the Queen. He had incurred the displeasure of the people of whom he had been the virtual ruler; but, as it was said at the time that he went out of office, "a great many people entertain towards Mr. Gladstone's Government the same sort of sentiment as that which worthy

Mrs. Bertram, in Scott's romance, felt for the energetic revenue officer who would persist in doing his duty, instead of following the example of his predecessor, who sang his song, and took his drink, and drew his salary without troubling any one."

Such being the offense which had been committed, it seems more honorable to have offended than it would have been to have pleased.

There were some political wiseacres who said that if Mr. Gladstone had not dissolved, but had brought forward a budget announcing the repeal of the income tax, a measure which he had announced as one which would be supported by his Government if the country endorsed its policy, he would have regained the support of the Liberal party *in toto*. But this was not done; he had dissolved; his rival had come into office, and was, for the first time, at the head of a Ministry which was endorsed by a majority of the House. Nor was the election all; there were not wanting former professed friends of Mr. Gladstone who jeered at his fall from power.

Shortly before the House met for active business, Mr. Gladstone addressed a circular to the Liberal members of Parliament, reiterating the intention which he had expressed conditionally before the election, to retire from the leadership of the Liberal party. The condition had been fulfilled, in the failure to secure an endorsement of his policy; and he wrote to Lord Granville, who had long been the leading Liberal Peer, a more explicit statement of his reasons for so doing. From this letter we learn little, however, beyond the bare fact that he considered his age to entitle him to some rest; and he alleged "various personal reasons" for not engaging himself as closely with Parliamentary matters as he had done.

The new Ministerialists indulged in a little pleasantry concerning an Opposition without a leader, and the party which had so lately divided its support found how necessary Mr. Gladstone was to its success. But the opposing parties did not measure swords at once. For a while there was quite a Utopian state of things in Parliament; true, an over-zealous Tory did propose a vote of censure upon the late Ministry for dissolving, but Mr. Disraeli promptly silenced him, making Mr. Gladstone's annihilation of his arguments quite unnecessary. The new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote, confessed that the calculations of the late Prime Minister were quite correct,

and there was a surplus, as stated, in the revenue. The Government made no pretensions to any original policy, but followed that which their predecessors had intended to pursue; and everything was lovely.

Such a state of affairs could not last very long, however, and the introduction of several important religious measures speedily aroused the sleeping lion of contention. The first of these concerned itself with the Church Patronage of Scotland; this had been a subject of agitation for the last three hundred years, or ever since the regent Murray set aside the authority and the religion of his royal sister. The General Assembly had passed various resolutions expressing their dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs, but nothing definite had been brought forward by any Government until this time. The present bill, a short but comprehensive one, was supported by some influential Liberal Peers, being introduced in that House; but was opposed by the Liberal members of the Lower Chamber. The chief feature of the debate was a vigorous speech by Mr. Gladstone, who had not appeared in the House for some time, and whose rising was therefore greeted with unusual warmth by his adherents. While the motive of the bill was laudable, he considered its details as extremely objectionable, and as such opposed them with all the force of his eloquence. The statement, "I am not an idolator of Establishments," called forth ironical cheers from the Treasury Benches, which were speedily drowned in genuine applause from his own friends. The opposition was fruitless, however, for the second reading was carried by a considerable majority.

A bill for the Regulation of Public Worship was introduced into the House of Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and upon this, when it came down to the Commons, Mr. Gladstone made another important speech. "He fairly electrified the assembly," said a contemporary newspaper. It opposed the bill on the ground that it was an undue interference with freedom; and claimed that perfect uniformity of ritual was impossible. His speech was described by Sir William Harcourt, who replied to it, as a powerful plea for universal Non-conformity, or optional conformity; and the resolutions which he proposed as a substitute for the bill could only point, according to Mr. Disraeli's understanding of them, to the abolition of that religious settlement which had prevailed in England for more than two centuries.

The Government, by these declarations and others of the same nature, clearly adopted the bill, and it soon became evident that Mr. Gladstone's resolutions were distasteful to many of his own supporters. He withdrew his resolutions when it became apparent that the greater part of the House was in favor of the bill; and the measure eventually became law, though it has never accomplished the object for which it was intended.

The Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill was looked upon by the Liberals as a step backward, and opposed accordingly. That party, when in power, had given into national control the schools which had formerly been under sectarian government; and this was a reversal of that policy, in effect. It was moved by Mr. Forster that the bill should be rejected, and the motion was strongly supported by Mr. Gladstone. The ex-Premier pointed out that this was a reversal of the policy of the last Parliament, and was unwise as well as unusual. The Liberal party, he said, during the last forty or fifty years, had taken the initiative of policy in almost every instance, and had been followed by the Conservatives, acting in prudence and honesty. It was the first instance, he claimed, of any direct attempt being made by a Ministry at retrogression. The only similar case which he could find in history dated back to the reign of William III., and the act then passed was now proposed for repeal. Although the Government had a considerable majority upon the second reading, and also upon the motion to go into committee, they found that it would be so hotly contested in committee that they judged it best to make some important modifications; and it in its mutilated state finally passed and received the royal assent.

Mr. Gladstone's retirement from the leadership of the Liberal party had been assigned a possible limit in his letter to Lord Granville; that limit was reached Jan. 1st, 1875, but the same circumstances still existed, and he definitely withdrew from political life, so far as anything more than occasional presence in the House of Commons was concerned. His withdrawal brought consternation to his political friends, who had been willing to endure his absence for a time, if they might look forward to his return; but his resolution was unalterable. Words of praise were showered upon him by all alike; and it was feared that he had finally left the strife of party.

It was of course necessary to elect a new leader. There were two men whose names first occurred to the observer of the field

—Mr. Bright and Mr. Lowe. Mr. Bright, it was well known, would not accept the vacant post, for the same reason that he had hesitated about accepting office; as for Mr. Lowe, he was a man of undoubted ability—but—then the speaker would shake his head significantly, and the listener would know exactly what was meant regarding that erratic genius, and agree with him. The list was thus reduced to Mr. Forster, Sir W. Harcourt, Mr. Goschen, and the Marquis of Hartington. The first three were subsequently withdrawn, and Lord Hartington unanimously elected to the vacant place.

The choice was not an unwise one; for although the new leader was indolent and lacked many of the brilliant qualities of his predecessor, he defeated the prophecies of those who had predicted his failure; and justified very largely the eulogy which Mr. Bright had pronounced upon him at the time of his election.

Mr. Gladstone did not often appear in the House during the session of 1875. His first important speech was upon Mr. Osborne Morgan's Burials Bill, which proposed that the friends of the deceased should have the privilege of deciding upon the service to be used in a parish graveyard. It seems to be something similar to that which Mr. Gladstone had before advocated. He spoke in favor of this, as did Mr. Bright, but it was finally negatived by a majority of fourteen.

The budget introduced by Sir Stafford Northcote was the subject of another speech. Mr. Gladstone objected to various measures which were proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and maintained that the surplus for the ensuing year was overestimated. The plan for reducing the National Debt, he maintained, was founded upon the supposition that there would be a large surplus every year for the next thirty years, and that succeeding Chancellors of the Exchequer would do the reverse of what Sir S. Northcote had done. The plan was, however, adopted.

There were other speeches made during the session, but not many; and they were upon topics of little or no permanent interest. During the autumn, Mr. Gladstone met the Hawarden tenantry, and made the most pleasing speech of the year. The reason for his continued silence was found afterward to be the preparation of controversial works, which forever settled the question of his secret membership of the Catholic Church, and which we shall consider in a later chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

GLADSTONE IN OPPOSITION.

Eastern Question—Turkey Does Nothing but Promise—Suicide of the Turkish Sultan—Oriental Races—Explanations by Disraeli—Raised to the Peerage—Bulgarian Horrors—Lord Salisbury in the East—Earl of Shaftesbury—Duke of Argyle—Lord George Hamilton—Gladstone's Pamphlet on the Turkish Question—Action in Parliament on the Turkish Situation—Protracted Debate—Vote of Credit—"Peace with Honor"—Sir Stafford Northcote—Gladstone Arraigns the Government—Triumphal March Through Scotland—"Grand Old Man"—Great Ovations Everywhere.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Gladstone had thus formally retired from the leadership of the Liberal party, he was not destined to remain in retirement for a long period. Perhaps it would have been impossible for a man constituted as he was, and accustomed for many years to take a prominent part in directing the affairs of the nation, to content himself with merely literary activity; certainly the events of the years immediately succeeding his effort to devote himself to purely intellectual pursuits were stirring enough to arouse him from the repose which he had promised himself.

When the Crimean war closed, Lord Aberdeen had said that the treaty might possibly remain intact for five and twenty years; he was laughed at as a pessimist, but the event proved that he was rather optimistic than otherwise. Before the quarter century had elapsed, the Eastern Question was once more the problem of the hour.

The fact that many of the provinces of Turkey were inhabited by alien races was bound to lead to foreign interference on the behalf of such peoples. Such interference was rendered more frequent because of the difference in religion, which was often made the excuse when there was no real need of outside assistance. The Danubian Principalities had been under the protectorate of the Czar, but this state of affairs was never recognized at Constantinople, and the Treaty of Paris had restored them to Turkey. Their subjection was only nominal, however, for when

Moldavia and Wallænia united themselves under one government, and expelled their ruler, the Porte could only look helplessly on. Encouraged by this success, and probably by the fact that the Cretan rebellion had not been a complete failure, the Servians demanded that the Turkish garrisons should be removed from their midst, and the Turks complied. Russia had declared that she was no longer bound by the Treaty of Paris, and this gave fresh courage to the provinces which were always ready to revolt when occasion offered. But although the Turks had withdrawn the garrisons when required to do so, they had not relaxed the oppression which was practiced in other ways. It has frequently been remarked that there is in Turkish rule no medium between neglect and tyranny; and that the portions of the Empire where tyranny might be excusable, as being the only means of maintaining public order, are the very portions where the hand of authority is never felt. The strength which should be used, under a just government, in repressing crime and disorder, is exercised in the oppression of those quiet and law-abiding provinces which should be protected from others. It must be admitted, however, that the Christian provinces were not at this time, and had not been for many years, orderly and law-abiding; they had suffered so much from the tyranny of their Mahometan masters that they were always in a ferment of revolt.

Early in July, 1875, the news reached England that the oppression had at last become unbearable, and that the Herzegovina was in open rebellion. It became quite clear at once that a new chapter of the old troubles was beginning. The Turkish statesmen insisted that the rebels were receiving outside assistance, and called upon England to interfere. England was the enemy of Russia, and as such was regarded as the friend of the Porte. Austria was one of the offenders against whom complaint was made. Serbia and Montenegro were requested to stop sending supplies of arms and men to the insurgents. But none of the Governments thus appealed to seem to have done anything. Lord Derby, the Foreign Secretary, pursued a decidedly feeble course. He knew that the oppression of the Turkish Christians would be unpopular, but, on the other hand, the repression of the Turkish cruelties would be pleasing to Russia, who always desired to see the Ottoman humbled; and anything which pleased Russia was sure to displease the English people. Under such circumstances, he decided to act with the Porte; and urged

the Government at Constantinople to put down the insurrection as quickly as possible, and not allow it to swell to the magnitude of a matter for European intervention. This offended, not only popular feeling, but the popular conscience; and somewhat interfered with the popularity of the Disraeli Government.

But the recommendation to the Porte was more than he could obey. It was impossible to put down the insurrection, which continued to spread. Finally, on the last day but one of the year 1875, Count Andrassy, the Austrian Minister, in conjunction with the representatives of Germany and Russia, addressed a note to the Porte. This Note from the three great Empires declared that the promises of reform made by Turkey had been broken, and that some combined action of the Powers of Europe was necessary to insure their fulfillment. If this were not done they declared, the governments of Servia and Montenegro, would be compelled by the enthusiasm of those peoples to support the revolutionary cause in Bosnia and Herzegovina; and this would mean a general outbreak. This Note was communicated to the Powers which had signed the Treaty of Paris; France and Italy at once signified their concurrence; England alone hesitated. It was not until Lord Derby received a request from the Turkish Government that he would join in it, that he complied. It seems at first strange that such a request should come from the Porte; the reason for it is scarcely honorable to England, for she was regarded as a secret friend by Turkey.

Lord Derby joined in the Andrassy Note, and it was sent to the Porte. The Turks listened gravely to the complaints and demands, and promised all sorts of good behavior for the future. The Powers had evidently gained their point at once.

But Turkey did nothing but promise. Not one of the grievances was redressed, and it soon became apparent that she did not intend to take any steps to meet the demands. The Berlin Memorandum was accordingly drawn up by the three Imperial Ministers, pointing out the increasing danger of disturbance, and the necessity for carrying into effect at once the objects of the Andrassy Note. It was proposed that hostilities should be suspended for two months between the Porte and the insurgents, while a peace was being negotiated; and that the consuls and other representatives of the powers should watch over the proposed reforms. The Memorandum significantly intimated that if the desired objects were not attained during the period of two

months, the Powers would have to see what should be done. This threat meant that the matter must be settled as the Note and Memorandum had intimated; for Turkey could not think of resisting the arms of united Europe.

Unfortunately, the English Government did not see its way clear to join in this Memorandum. The general impression was, that Russia had been stirring up the discontent which had culminated in these difficulties, that the Christian Powers might be compelled to interfere in Turkish matters, to the manifest disadvantage of the Porte. Lord Derby himself was of the opinion that a secret agreement had existed among the empires since 1873, and he feared that England would be drawn into a dangerous complication. His refusal made concert among the Powers impossible for the time, and the Memorandum was never presented. Then every one in Europe and America knew that war was certain in the East. This refusal of the English Government seems to have given fresh courage to the Turks, who had been pretty well frightened by the magnitude of the storm which had threatened them a little while before. There was an outbreak of Mussulman fanaticism at Salonica, and the French and German consuls were murdered. There was a revolution in Constantinople itself, and Abdul Aziz was dethroned to make way for a sultan capable of carrying on a war with an empty treasury. This *rara avis*, it was thought, they had found in his nephew, whom the Softas made Murad V.; but three months after this remarkable discovery was made, they had proved to their own satisfaction that they were mistaken; and Murad stepped down and out to make room for his brother Hamid.

Nobody expressed any special regret when Abdul Aziz opened the arteries of his arm, and bled to death in his palace; but there were circumstances more terrible than these changes, which were soon to alarm and horrify all Europe. An insurrection broke out in Bulgaria, and the Turkish Government sent large numbers of Bashi-Bazouks and other irregular troops to crush it. The insurrection was duly crushed, but the Bashi-Bazouks did not cease their horrible work. Repression turned to massacre, and rumors began to reach Constantinople of hideous wholesale unprovoked murders in the northern province. The correspondent of the London Daily *News* heard them, and resolved to investigate them; he did so, and found that the reports were but too well founded in fact. In a few days afterward accounts

were published in England of what has ever since been known as the Bulgarian Atrocities. Thousands of innocent men, women and children had been slaughtered; at least sixty villages had been destroyed, after the extermination of their inhabitants; forty girls were shut up in a straw loft and burned alive; the most unnamable outrages were committed; and a district once the most fertile in the Ottoman Empire had been ruined.

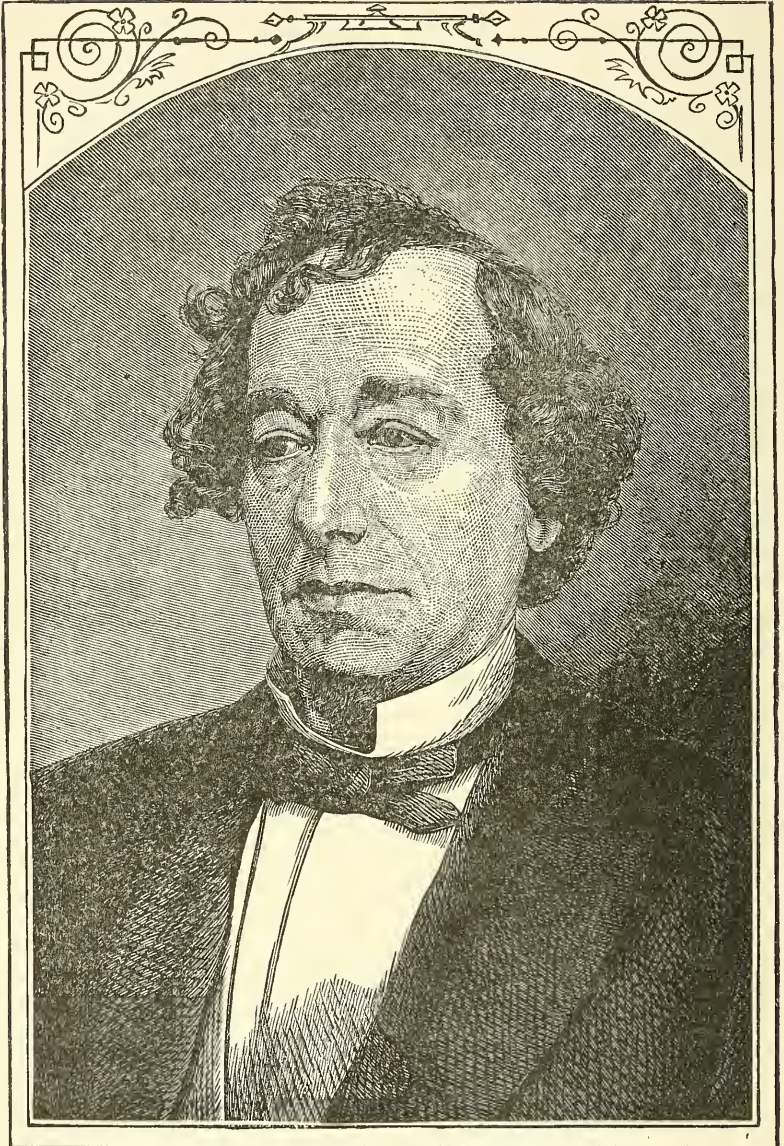
While the English public was reading these tales of horror, and shuddering at the tortures to which the prisoners had been subjected before death came to relieve them, the Prime Minister was taking things very coolly. He made it very evident that he did not know much about the Turkish provinces of the time, nor about Turkish affairs in general; he had not considered the charges worth investigating; but assuming that such atrocious crimes were greatly exaggerated in the telling, endeavored to set the matter before the House of Commons in the light in which he saw it. The newspaper correspondent had been in search of sensations; of course he had not made the picture any the less dark; rumor has a thousand tongues; and there must be much allowance made for "coffee-house babble." The Bashi-Bazouks, he informed his hearers, were the regular occupants of Bulgaria, being a Circassian race who had settled there long ago, with the concurrence of all Europe. As for the torture, Oriental races "generally terminated their connection with culprits in a more expeditious manner."

Mr. Disraeli's debonair treatment of the question did not satisfy the House. The Bashi-Bazouks were not the gentle, harmless creatures that he had represented them to be; they believed that the statements in the *News* were entitled to more credit than he was willing to give them; and they grew more and more indignant that the Prime Minister of England should speak thus lightly of the outrages committed by Mahometan soldiery.

That the newspaper statements were not exaggerated, was shown by the report of Mr. Baring, who was sent out to investigate the matter; he reported that so far from the only deaths being those which took place in battle, between armed insurgents and the soldiers, he had himself seen whole masses of the bodies of woman and children piled together, in places where no bodies of combatants were to be seen. No fewer than twelve thousand persons had been killed in the single district of Philippopolis. This report from a man who was generally supposed to be in

sympathy with Turkey upon the question as a whole, was indisputable; and the Turkish Government showed that they had no intention of disowning these atrocities by their action, soon afterward, in rewarding the chief perpetrators by new honors conferred upon them, presumably for the part borne in these murders.

What followed in England? The Premier became only too anxious to explain away his words. There had been no levity, he assured his listeners, in the expression which he had used when he spoke of the improbability of Turks torturing their prisoners; he had not denied the existence of the Bulgarian atrocities, but having no official information that they had taken place, was bound not express his intentions regarding them. The public excitement was at white heat; the words of Mr. Disraeli were regarded simply as another instance of his inconsistency; they were swept impatiently aside, while the people looked about them for a leader. Not the man who had scoffed at the story of outrage; not any of the Government which had half condoned the offenses of the Turks; not Mr. Bright, whose health was too uncertain to allow him to take the part which his downright antagonism to what he believed wrong would have led him; not the new leader of the Liberal party, who was somewhat slow; but a man whose eloquence could inflame the coldest; a man whose principles were unquestioned; a man whose standing was such that his slightest word must command attention; a man skilled in dealing with others—such was the leader that was sought for what Bright characterized as “an uprising of the English people.” Was there such a man? And would he lead them when he was found? Such were the questions which were earnestly asked. The former was perhaps easily answered, as men turned their eyes to one who was but seldom heard now-a-days; the latter was fully answered when William Ewart Gladstone, casting aside polemics and criticism, forgetful alike of the Bard of Greece and the Pope of Rome, emerged from his semi-retirement and took up the gauntlet which Disraeli had allowed to drop from his over-careless hand. He had now nearly approached the limit of three score and ten; at sixty-seven we scarcely expect much ardor from the advocate of any cause; but he flung himself into the contest with all the keen and impassioned energy of a youth. “He made speeches in the House of Commons and out of it; he attended monster



Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield.

meetings in doors and out of doors ; he published pamphlets ; he wrote letters ; he brought forward motions in Parliament ; he

denounced the crimes of Turkey and the policy which would support Turkey, with an eloquence that for the time set England aflame."

Prince Milan had left Belgrade in June, declaring that Servia could not longer endure the oppressions of Turkey; and his province was, like its neighbors, in open revolt. We need not follow the whole course of events in the East; we are interested only in what was done in England. There were frequent debates in Parliament upon the subject, and Mr. Gladstone, who had so rarely been present at the daily sessions, now spoke almost every night upon some topic connected with the outrages and the course which the Government pursued. It was in vain that Mr. Disraeli explained that the British Government had refused to join in the Berlin Memorandum, because that represented a policy of aggression, with which England would have nothing to do; that the British fleet had been sent to Besika Bay, not for the protection of the Turkish Empire, but to maintain the rights of the British; it was in vain that Lord Derby defined the course of the Government as one of strict neutrality, and approved by the other Powers. The people had made up their mind, and their decision was not favorable to the stand which the Government had taken.

August 11th, 1876, Mr. Disraeli made his last reply to Mr. Gladstone and his adherents in the House of Commons. It was upon this subject; he affirmed that the Turks were not the especial proteges of England, and that she was not responsible for what had occurred in Turkey; he announced that the sole duty of the Government, according to his understanding of the case, was to maintain the Empire of England, and that they would never agree to any step which hazarded the existence of the Empire. After this speech, Mr. Disraeli left the House, never again to address it from the Ministerial or Opposition benches; for the next morning's papers contained what had hitherto been a well-kept secret: The Prime Minister had been created Earl of Beaconsfield.

Perhaps it will not be out of place to turn aside at this moment to note what was the nature of this reward, and for what it was bestowed. Mr. Disraeli had long been a faithful servant of the Crown; he had served it with the best of what was no mean ability; upon entering on the discharge of the duties of the First Lord of the Treasury at the beginning of the present session of Parlia-

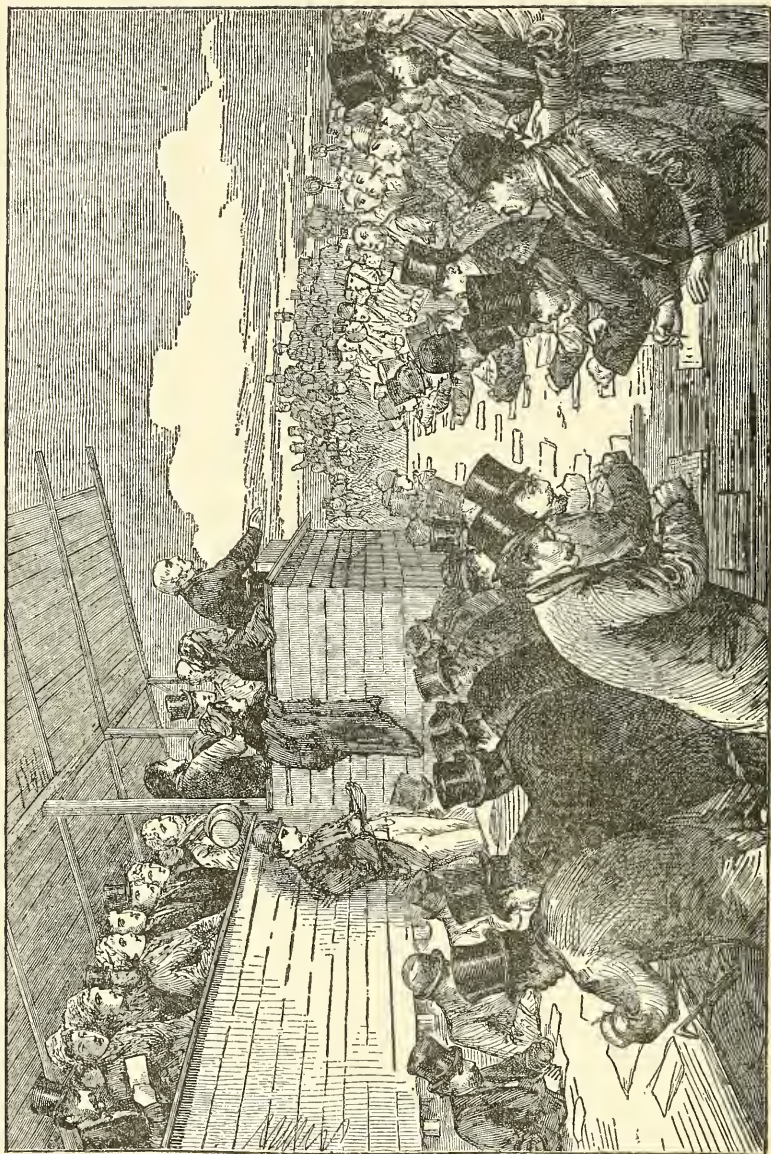
ment, he had determined upon the aggrandizement of the Crown by every legitimate means; there was to be another Elizabethan period, the people were told; and every one waited with confident expectancy to see the Elizabethan revival. To some extent they did see it; but whatever power great men may possess to mould circumstances to their will, they cannot wholly create those circumstances. There was much that was lacking to make the Victorian Era a reproduction of the Elizabethan; perhaps, if the matter had been strictly analyzed, the Tories would not have become the more popular by their efforts to bring back the glory of the tyrannical Tudor; but the phrase, like so many to which the brilliant novelist gave currency, was a taking one, and the Ministry was lauded for the intention. The Queen was given the new title of "Empress of India," though the Opposition carried an amendment which prohibited the use of the new title in the United Kingdom; the Prince of Wales was paraded through India, that he might see some of the princes who were well-disposed toward his royal mother, or who were afraid to be anything else; the Government bought a certain number of shares in the Suez Canal, which were just then going begging, and thus acquired the controlling interest in it; and the Elizabethan revival was completed.

When Mr. Disraeli resigned at the close of the year 1868, he was offered that reward so dear to the heart of an Englishman—elevation to the peerage. Somewhat to the surprise of those who knew him, he declined it for himself; accepting it for the wife to whom he owed so much. The Viscountess Beaconsfield died four years later, childless. The Premier, by his talents as a debater, and his persistency under defeat, had won the admiration of his opponents as well as of his adherents; personally he was most acceptable to the Queen; and it was not a matter of wonder when the announcement above mentioned was made. No one objected; no one cried out that he had not deserved well of the Sovereign; if he wanted an earldom, by all means let him have it; and his enemies were among the first to applaud the royal recognition, for his transfer from the House of Commons to the House of Lords was a material weakening of his party in the legislative chamber where his party was the less strong.

Three days after this, Parliament was prorogued. In the very beginning of the recess appeared the official report of Mr. Baring concerning the Bulgarian atrocities; and Beaconsfield was con-

victed by the evidence of one of his own subordinates of glossing over crimes which well deserved punishment, because he did not choose to investigate the truth of the charges until public opinion compelled him to do so. Far different was the course taken by the great Liberal leader, as he still ranked in men's minds, though he had chosen that another should have that title. Scarcely a month after the prorogation, he published a pamphlet entitled, "Bulgarian Horrors, and the Question of the East." England, he maintained, should not only aim at the termination of the war actually in progress, but should demand the accomplishment of three great objects, before she rested from her labors. The first thing to be done was to put an end to the anarchical misrule, the plundering, the murdering, which still desolated Bulgaria; there must then be effective measures taken to prevent the repetition of such outrages as had been recently perpetrated under the sanction of the Ottoman Government, by excluding its administrative action for the future, not only from Bosnia and Herzegovina, but from Bulgaria as well; the latter province being the one, really, which it was most essential to protect in this manner. The third object to be attained, to which these were the steps, was the redemption of the honor of the British name, which in the deplorable events of the past year had been more gravely compromised than ever before within his recollection. He supported his position with all the force of his powerful eloquence; and that had ripened year by year, so that now, when he had so nearly reached the limit of average human life, this faculty was at its very zenith; nor could that star, which had thus risen, and which cast so glorious a light upon the progress of human liberty, decline until everlasting night should blot it from the vision of men.

A few days after the publication of this pamphlet, Mr. Gladstone addressed his constituents at an immense meeting on Blackheath. The speech, which was among the most eloquent and impassioned of his political orations, furnished the watchwords of his party in the campaign which followed. At various points in his address the audience was completely carried away by the emotions which he aroused. There had been an effort made to compare these to other massacres and outrages, of which history had told; but the effort was shown to be futile and puerile. But, he told them, if all these dark pages in English history could be concentrated into a single spot, that spot would not be



Open-Air Meeting at Blackheath to Hear Mr. Gladstone on the Turkish Atrocities.

worthy to appear upon the pages which should hereafter tell of the infamous proceedings of the Turks in Bulgaria. He advocated, not the abolition of the Turkish Empire, but the limitation of its power in such manner that it could not again practice these dire refinements of cruelty. This could only be done by the combined action of all the Powers; though there were two whose responsibilities were greater than any other's; these two were England and Russia. He did not claim that Russia was exempt from ambition; but she had within her the pulse of humanity, and it was this pulse which he now believed was throbbing almost ungovernably in the minds of her people. The power of Russia upon land was irresistible; that of England by sea was at least as great; he closed with the significant question, which the Foreign Secretary essayed to answer not long afterward:

“I ask you, what would be the condition of the Turkish armies if the British admiral now in Besika Bay were to inform the Government that, from that hour, until atonement had been made—until punishment had descended, until justice had been vindicated—not a man, not a ship, not a boat should cross the waters of the Bosphorus, or the cloudy Euxine, or the bright Ægean, to carry aid to the Turkish troops?”

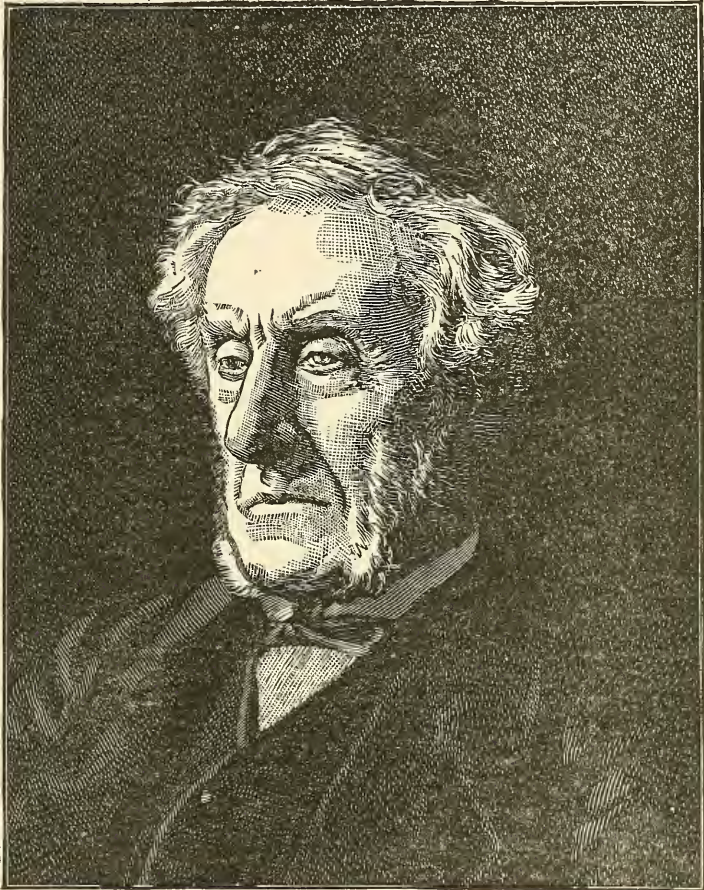
This address created too much enthusiasm among the people to be left unanswered; and the Premier himself undertook the task. Speaking at Aylesbury, he admitted that the Ministerial policy was unpopular, but strongly condemned those “designing politicians who take advantage of sublime sentiments, and apply them for the furtherance of their own sinister ends.” This language was of course quoted with approval among the ultra-Conservatives; but it was warmly denounced as extraordinary trifling, by those who were less bitter in their personal dislike of the great Liberal and his followers.

Lord Derby directed the British ambassador at Constantinople to lay Mr. Baring's report upon the Bulgarian atrocities before the Ottoman Government, and to demand that the offenders should be punished. This was said at the time to be an answer to that question which Mr. Gladstone propounded to his listeners on Blackheath, and which we have quoted above; and it would have been, had the demand been enforced. But that was the last of it; the British Government never pressed the Porte for a definite answer, and the Government which had rewarded Achmet Agha, the Turkish general in Bulgaria, with the Order of

the Medjidie, was not likely to give such satisfaction until compelled to do so. Turkey finally agreed to an armistice of eight weeks, and the Czar who had brought the pressure to bear which resulted in this, pledged his sacred word of honor to the English ambassador that he had no intention of occupying Constantinople; and that if necessity compelled him to occupy a portion of Bulgaria, it would only be provisionally, and until the safety and peace of the Christian population were secured. A week after this, Lord Beaconsfield delivered a warlike speech at the Ministerial banquet at Guildhall; whereupon the Czar declared that if Turkey did not accede to his demands, Russia would be prepared to act independently.

Lord Salisbury, who had been accredited as the English representative at the Conference of Constantinople, arrived in that city Dec. 5th. Three days later, there was a great meeting at St. James' Hall for the purpose of discussing the Eastern Question. The Duke of Westminster was the Chairman, and the meeting was addressed by men eminent in politics, letters, science, religion and the army. At a second meeting, the evening of the same day, Lord Shaftesbury, the well-known and now lamented statesman and philanthropist, presided, and the addresses were at least as interesting as in the afternoon. Mr. Gladstone spoke at this time, in company with Mr. Fawcett, Canon Liddon, Mr. E. A. Freeman, and others of similiar standing. Mr. Freeman urged that the right must be maintained at all costs, even of the interests of England; Mr. Fawcett, referring to the injunction, "forgive and forget," insisted that there was one man whose acts ought never to be forgiven by Englishmen, and that man was the Prime Minister of England. After such speeches as these, Mr. Gladstone arose, to clinch their denunciations with his own. As at Blackheath, he was received with deafening cheers. Repudiating the accusation that these meetings were held for the purpose of embarrassing the Government, he charged Lord Beaconsfield with pursuing a policy which he knew was in direct antagonism to the sentiment of the country; it was not until the Aylesbury speech that Lord Beaconsfield had given any evidence that he thought England had duties toward the Christian population of Turkey. This acknowledgment was one which the Opposition had tried in vain to draw from the Ministry during the last session; the first declaration of this knowledge was made by Sir Stafford Northcote, who had re-

marked, during a speech somewhere in the North, "Of course we are all aware of our duties to the Christian population of Turkey." Mr. Gladstone said that he was glad they were aware of it, but the recognition of that obligation was not to be found



Lord Shaftesbury.

in the proceedings of Parliament or the official correspondence for the past year.

Expressing a hope that Lord Salisbury's instructions were not in accordance with Lord Beaconsfield's recent speech at Guildhall, which had so directly influenced the Czar, he trusted that the English representative would be permitted to give scope

to his own generous instincts, and that the Plenipotentiaries in general would insist upon the future independence of the provinces, or at least upon such a form of government as would insure them freedom from oppression.

While the meetings at St. James' Hall were not without their effect, their influence would have been even deeper and wider if it had not been for the fact that the Conference at Constantinople was sitting, and was expected to accomplish all that could be hoped. These hopes were, however, doomed to be disappointed; for the Conference found its demands rejected by the Turkish Government. These demands had finally been reduced to two: that the Powers should nominate an International Commission, without executive powers; and that the Sultan should appoint governors-general, holding their office for the term of five years, the appointments to be subject to the approval of the guaranteeing Governments. But the "Unspeakable Turk," as Mr. Gladstone was fond of apostrophizing the brutal Mahometans, found these propositions "contrary to their integrity, independence and dignity," and would have none of them.

The responsibility of this situation of affairs, Mr. Gladstone did not hesitate to declare, belonged to the Government. He and his friends had been told to mind their own business. To this exceedingly impolite injunction, the statesman replied that the Eastern Question was their own business.

The plea was urged that the Treaty of 1856 had been broken. To this he made answer that Turkey had trampled all treaties under foot. If the treaties were in force, they were as binding upon Turkey as upon England; but when one disregarded them the other was not bound to observe them.

When Parliament opened, in February, the war which had been raging in meetings and other public gatherings broke out afresh in the two Houses. In reply to the Duke of Argyll, who had urged the necessity for decisive action upon the Government, the Premier said that any interference at the present would tend to make the condition of the Turkish Christians worse than it was at this time. Mr. Gladstone, in the House of Commons, enlarged upon the contradictory statements of recent negotiations, Foreign Office documents, the Queen's speech, and the orations of the Ministers. Mr. Hardy replied for the Government, and said that the time had not yet come for England to cut this Gordian knot with the sword.

Mr. Chaplin complained that Mr. Gladstone and other Liberals had endeavored to regulate the sentiment of the country by the publication of pamphlets upon the subject, and by the delivery of numerous speeches, and by the so-called National Conference at St. James'. There was one of two things which Mr. Gladstone must do—he must either make good or withdraw his assertions; there was no other course which was open to a man of honor. The last expression was ruled out by the Speaker as unparliamentary, and it was accordingly withdrawn. Mr. Chaplin then went on to say that he regretted most sincerely Mr. Gladstone's course during the recess; he had done so much to impair the respect and esteem which were felt for him by all members of the House and to shake to its foundations the reputation of a man whom all England had long been accustomed to regard as one of the greatest of her sons. He moved the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. Gladstone's reply to this attack was an impromptu one,

which fully sustained his reputation as one of the ablest debaters who ever sat in the House of Commons. In seconding the motion for an adjournment, he said that he was surprised to be accused, for the first time in a public career extending over nearly half a century, of an unwillingness to meet his opponents in fair fight. Why had not the honorable gentleman attended those meetings of which he complained so much? He spoke of his own reluctance to enter upon this question, and declared that it was only the strength of the public sentiment which had made him feel an avoidance of its manifestation impossible. He administered a scathing rebuke to Lord George Hamilton, who had in-



Duke of Argyll.

errupted him twice, and then turned again to the original assailant. Upon him the floods of wrath were poured. If he (Mr. Gladstone) by his speeches and his pamphlet had done all this mischief, why did not Mr. Chaplin write another pamphlet, and make other speeches, which would set the people right? It was the nation which had led the leaders and the classes in this matter, not the classes and the leaders who had led the nation; the speeches and pamphlet had been no more than the match



Lord George Hamilton.

which is applied to fuel already prepared. The attack had been a virulent one; the reply was such as to make Mr. Chaplin sincerely regret that he had aroused the sleeping lion. Said Mr. Gladstone:

“He says, sir, that I have been an inflammatory agitator, and that as soon as I have got into this House I have no disposition to chant in the same key. But before these debates are over, before this question is settled, the honorable gentleman will know more about my opinions than

he knows at present, or is likely to know to-night. I am not about to reveal now to the honorable gentleman the secrets of a mind so inferior to his own. I am not so young as to think that his obliging inquiries supply me with opportunities the most advantageous to the public interest for laying out the plan of a campaign. By the time the honorable member is as old as I am, if he comes in his turn to be accused of cowardice by a man of the next generation to himself, he probably may find it convenient to refer to the reply I am now making, and to make it a model, or, at all events, to take from it hints and suggestions, with which to dispose of the antagonist that may then rise against him. * * * I will tell the honorable gentleman something in answer to his questions,

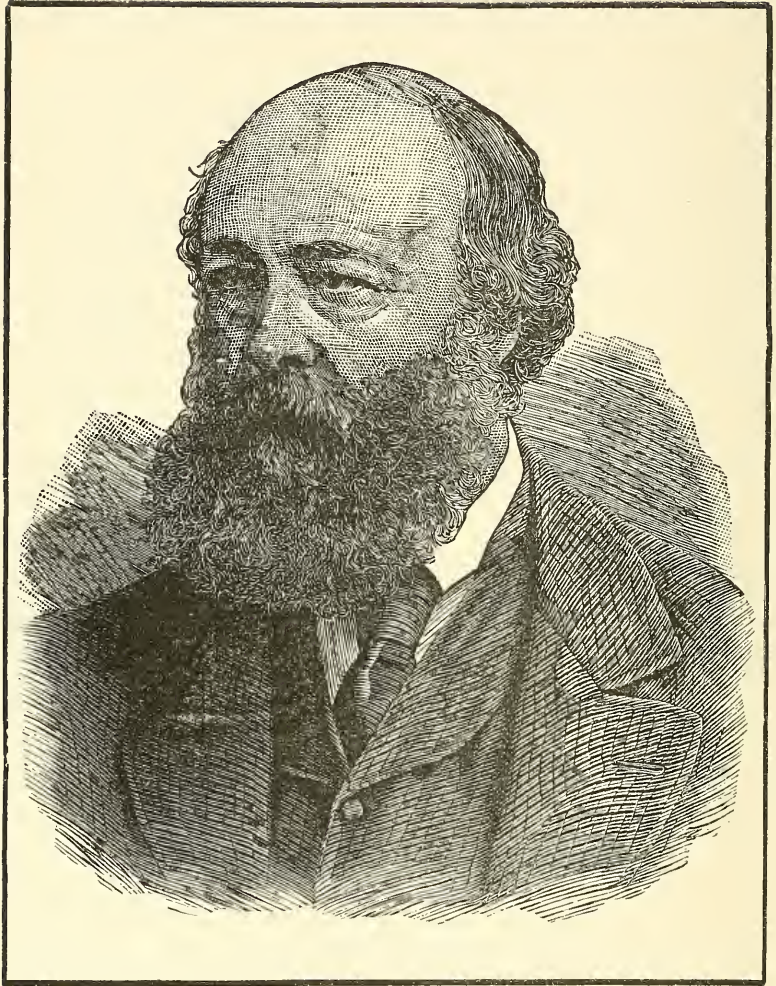
and it is that I will tell him nothing at all. I will take my own counsel, and beg to inform him that he shall have no reason whatever to complain, when the accounts come to be settled and cast up at the end of the whole matter, of any reticence or suppressions on my part."

Mr. Gladstone went on to correct the mis-statements of what he had really said at Taunton. He had said that it was necessary to watch closely the policy of the Government; that he had great confidence in Lord Salisbury, but he did not know whether the Government had one policy or two. This was the greatest question, he added, which had come before Parliament in his time; and it behooved all who were responsible for the course of England to consider that course most carefully. He urged upon them the setting aside of all party considerations, and the duty of striving to the utmost that justice should be done.

It is rare that Mr. Gladstone condescended to a personal speech; he was in general so taken up with measures that he had no time in which to consider men; his opposition to the course which a Government might pursue did not involve any personal animosity to its members; but the above extracts will show that he was perfectly able to defend himself when necessary. Certainly Mr. Chaplin was provided with an excellent model for the repelling of future attacks on himself.

The appeal which closed this speech was received with protracted cheering. Such was its effect upon those who heard it, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself remarked that he was not surprised at the enthusiastic applause which followed the speech.

Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet before mentioned had argued that the only way to secure any permanent good for the Christian provinces of Turkey was to turn the Turkish officials "bag and baggage" out of them. His enemies were not slow to quote garbled extracts from this argument to prove that Mr. Gladstone favored nothing less than the expulsion of all the Turks from Europe. Against this accusation, and against the charge that he had advocated a different policy at the close of the Crimean war from that which he upheld now, he was obliged to defend himself in Parliament as well as out of it. But the mischief was more easily done than undone. He was represented as demanding the instant expulsion of every Turk—man, wo-



Marquis of Salisbury—Premier of Great Britain.

man and child—from Europe; if this were done, the Russians would at once occupy Constantinople, and the power of Russia be indefinitely increased. Lord Beaconsfield, on the other hand, was opposed to any extension of the Czar's dominions, and took great care to keep this continually before the minds of the people. There were many sneers, too, from the Government and its supporters, about sentimentality introduced in questions of statesmanship. Thus it came to pass that Lord Beaconsfield was looked upon as the champion of England, and the enemy of her enemy; while his great rival was openly accused of being the friend and instrument of Russia, by thousands of Englishmen who honestly believed what they said. So, by degrees, the great masses of the people began to look with different eyes upon the war, and to think that the interests of the country were perhaps safe in Beaconsfield's hands after all.

But Mr. Gladstone was not left without supporters of his cause. There were still many who thought as he did. A close observer has said that men who prided themselves upon being practical politicians upheld the course of the Government, maintaining that Turkey must be held as a barrier against Russia at all hazards; while men who held that sound politics cannot exist without sound morals, protested with the Liberal chief against England making herself responsible for the crimes of Turkey. The one cried out for the interests of morality, the other for the interests of England; and exclaimed against the ambition of Russia or the atrocities of Turkey, as the case might be.

A Protocol was signed at the English Foreign Office on the last day of March, 1877, stating that the Powers intended to watch carefully over the Christian provinces of Turkey, and if their condition should not be improved, in accordance with the demands which had already been made, in such a way as to prevent the return of the complications which periodically disturbed the peace of the East, such a state of affairs would be considered incompatible with the interests of Europe in general, and the Powers in particular. The Turkish Government protested against the humiliating situation in which it was placed by the Protocol, and Russia accordingly declared war April 24th. A week later, England, France, and Italy issued proclamations of strict neutrality.

On the 7th of May, Mr. Gladstone gave notice of certain resolutions which he intended to move, and which on the face of

them were extremely hostile to the foreign policy of the Government. Many members of the Liberal party declined to support them, on the ground that they pledged England to co-operate with Russia's policy of force; and Mr. Gladstone ultimately amended them so that they did little more than affirm that Turkey had forfeited all claim to moral or material support from the British Crown.

In the speech which introduced these altered resolutions to the House, Mr. Gladstone called attention to the vast numbers of meetings which were being held for the discussion of the subject; and asserted that in nineteen cases out of twenty, the general scope of the resolutions passed at these meetings had been co-extensive with, not the mild and moderate declarations which he now offered to the consideration of the House, but the more incisive statements which he had first proposed. His speech was a noble effort; fixing the responsibility for the atrocities upon the shoulders of the Turkish Government, he declared that the remonstrances of England had no effect, because the Porte knew that they began and ended in mere words. He taught them what right the Christians of Turkey had to look to Christian Europe for protection against their Mussulman masters; he told of the time when England was the hope of freedom, when the eyes of the oppressed were always turned to her, as the home of so much privilege and so much happiness; and pleaded that this should still be the light in which she was regarded. He told of the heroism of the Montenegrins and the Bulgarians; and what a great and noble prize was the privilege of removing their load of woe and shame.

The debate lasted for five nights, and some of the most eloquent speakers in the House, if not all of them, were heard upon the subject. Some of the Liberals spoke in support of the Government, whose policy was defined, now that the war had actually begun, as one of strict neutrality; among these was Mr. Roebuck, who, however, paid high tribute to Mr. Gladstone as "a man whom the country has believed to be one of its greatest and most deserving and patriotic Ministers at one time or another; a man endowed with great ability, with vast power, with a winning manner, and whose influence in this House has been almost illimitable." It is well said by one of Mr. Gladstone's biographers that it was the high moral courage and loftiness of purpose which had been so conspicuously displayed in his atti-

tude upon that Eastern Question, which had given him this "almost illimitable" influence.

Lord Hartington, who had opposed the resolutions in their original shape, was now one of their most determined supporters. Mr. Gladstone, in closing the debate, pointed out the different courses which the Government had seemed to pursue at different times. He did not believe that the time when united Europe could make an authoritative demand had gone by; that demand should be made at once; coercion did not mean war. If Russia failed in the work which she had undertaken, he pointed out, the condition of the Christian Provinces would be infinitely worse than it had ever been before; if she succeeded, as she deserved to do in such a cause, the performance of such a work would secure for her undying fame; when that day came, he concluded—

"When that work shall be accomplished, though it would not be in the way and by the means I would have chosen, as an Englishman I shall hide my head, but as a man I shall rejoice. Nevertheless, to my latest day I shall exclaim: Would God that in this crisis the voice of the nation had been suffered to prevail; would God that in this great, this holy deed, England had not been refused her share!"

But the eloquence was in vain; the re-action against the so-called sentimentalism had strengthened the hands of the Government; and the first resolution was defeated by a majority of one hundred and thirty-one.

Mr. Gladstone addressed a large meeting at Birmingham, before the close of the session, upon the topic of the hour; and upon his return from a visit to Ireland in the autumn he again spoke at various points. While the country, as represented by the House of Commons, seemed to be content with a policy of strict neutrality and watchfulness, the people themselves seem never to have tired of hearing the great advocate of the rights of the Turkish Christians.

In November of this year Mr. Gladstone was again elected Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, Lord Beaconsfield retiring. His opponent was Sir Stafford Northcote, the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but the member of the Government received only a little more than one-third the whole number of votes polled.

We need not follow the fortunes of the Russians and the Turks

upon the field of battle, or tell of the fall of Kars and Plevna, or the capture of Schipka Pass. It is enough here to record that on the 23rd of January, 1878, the Turkish Plenipotentiaries at Adrianople received orders from the Porte to accept the bases of peace as submitted to them by the Grand Duke Nicholas.

73 Harley Street
July 30. 1878.

Dear Lord Beaconsfield

I find you are reported in the 'Times' of today to have made last night a reference to a speech delivered by me at Oxford, in which you state that I "described you as a dangerous and even devilish character."

I shall be obliged by your informing me on what words of mine you found this statement.

You likewise are reported to have said that during the controversy on the Eastern Question I "had indulged in criticisms replete with the most offensive epithets as to your conduct and in description of your character."

Will you have the goodness to supply me with a list, or a selection of these

Fac-Simile of Mr. Gladstone's Letter to Lord Beaconsfield.

A week after this, Mr. Gladstone addressed a meeting which was held at Oxford, by a number of the under-graduates, to celebrate the formation of a Liberal Palmerston Club. He said that for the past eighteen months he had been styled an agitator; the accusation was well founded; during that period he had been an

agitator. He had never once lost sight of his purpose, which was to counterwork what he believed to be the policy of Lord Beaconsfield. The vote of credit for which the Government had asked he condemned as the most indefensible proposition which had been in his time submitted to Parliament.

Lord Beaconsfield attacked Mr. Gladstone for the personalities which he had used in his various speeches upon the subject. Mr. Gladstone courteously requested that reference to those personalities should be furnished him; the Premier declined to search over the speeches of the past two and one-half years, and admitted that certain expressions which he had accused his opponent of using were not to be found in the Oxford speech or elsewhere. This was the only reparation which Mr. Gladstone could obtain from the brilliant but erratic Minister of the Crown.

In the House debate upon the vote of credit, Mr. Gladstone alluded to the vileness of the motives which had been constantly imputed to him, while he had not impugned the motives of any one. He was willing, however, to let bygones be bygones; and with this amicable declaration proceeded to give his reasons for opposing the vote proposed. It would not strengthen the hands of the Government; it was unconstitutional, because its necessity had not been clearly shown; it would be destructive of the peaceful character of the Conference which was about to meet, thus to usher it in with the news that the war establishment of England, which was now upon an equality with that of other Powers, should be thus increased upon the eve of its meeting.

The Government would have the support of the Opposition, he said, if certain points were insisted upon at the Conference. A cession of Roumanian territory, which would interfere with the freedom of the mouth of the Danube, must be resisted; the claims of the subject races to a fair and just government must be supported; though he saw no reason why Bulgaria, having relied upon the efforts of others for her liberty, should not pay a tribute. He suggested that the Government should postpone the proposed vote for a time, and renew it if it became necessary; and closed by saying that an address should be presented to the Queen by both Houses, expressing their readiness to support the Government in bringing about a permanent peace.

The vote of credit was ultimately carried by a very large majority, the Marquis of Hartington and several other prominent

Liberals not voting at all. Shortly afterward, the conditions of the treaty were announced; but the terms were regarded as oppressive by the British Government, and the demand was made that the whole question should be submitted to the proposed Congress at Berlin.

Before the end of the month (March) there was considerable public uneasiness in England. Not only were the chances very shadowy that the Berlin Congress would ever meet, but the Government had taken the extreme step of calling out the reserves. In consequence of this action of the Cabinet, Lord Derby resigned his post as Foreign Secretary. The Marquis of Salisbury became his successor, and distinctly expressed the opinion that a Congress under the limitations on which Prince Gortschakoff insisted would not consult the interests which England was bound to guard, nor the well-being of the regions with which the treaty dealt. A long diplomatic correspondence ensued, and Salisbury and Gortschakoff finally agreed upon terms, so that the Congress met the last of June.

The course which Lord Beaconsfield took in connection with this Congress was a surprise to most persons. He was himself one of the Plenipotentiaries of England, Lord Salisbury being the other. It was the first instance in which a Prime Minister had left England, while Parliament was sitting, to act as the representative of England abroad. It was an irresistible temptation to one of his nature, essentially barbaric in its love of show and state and pomp, and its manifestation was fitly termed "Jingoism" by his opponents. His journey to Berlin was almost a triumphal progress; at every station crowds turned out to look upon him—the determined enemy of Russia.

It suited the plans of Prince Bismarck that at this time he should act as peacemaker; and he was a most effectual one. The Congress of Berlin was in session but a month before the four or five distinct and important questions were decided, the treaty prepared and signed. Lord Beaconsfield returned home. If he had been honored when he set out upon this mission, what shall we say of his reception when he returned? It was a series of ovations, from the time that he landed upon English soil until he reached London. He had brought back "Peace with Honor," he told the wildly enthusiastic crowds that had gathered about the Foreign Office to hear the popular idol speak; and the phrase was caught up, like so many others from his speeches, and ran

like wildfire. It was the highest altitude that he had yet attained in the minds of men. It was the highest that he was ever to attain.

Meanwhile, what was the standing of Mr. Gladstone in the popular estimation? In the provinces, Liberalism was still popular; and the Liberal chief would still have been sure of the cheers of a great provincial meeting. But in the metropolis, which often stands for the whole country, so much more loudly are its opinions expressed, he was completely overshadowed by the glory of his rival. Of the great newspapers, the daily *News* was the only one which did not laud Beaconsfield to the skies; the *Spectator* and the *Echo* were allies of the *News* among the weeklies, but there was not one besides. Nor was it the newspapers alone that were opposed to him; they reflected the public sentiment of the city. There now came a day when this man, who had held the highest office in the gift of his sovereign, and had commanded an overwhelming majority of the representatives of the people, could not pass through the streets of London in safety with his wife by his side; but was obliged to seek the shelter of a friendly hall door, until the little mob of patriots returning from a Jingo carnival should have ceased their threatening demonstrations.

Secure in the consciousness of his own rectitude, Mr. Gladstone did not falter in the course which he had marked out for himself, but pursued it as calmly and with as certain a step as if he had been supported by such a majority as had voted with the earliest measures of his Ministry. The employment of the Indian troops, who had been ordered to Malta by the Government, gave rise to a spirited debate. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was accused by Mr. Gladstone of an unconstitutional act in concealing a heavy item of expense which he knew was to be incurred; the Government ought to have consulted the House upon the subject before taking any action at all. By their violation of the Bill of Rights and the Indian Government act, they had made a most dangerous precedent. But the clear violation of the statutes was supported, as Lord Beaconsfield had calculated it would be, by many whose eyes were dazzled by the glory achieved in bringing home "Peace with Honor." Men had not yet discovered that what was so called was, emphatically, "Peace without Honor." The Government was supported by a majority of more than a hundred when the question came to a vote. The

Marquis of Salisbury compared his relative and predecessor, the Earl of Derby, to Titus Oates; an article of Mr. Gladstone's in the *Nineteenth Century* was made the pretext for a charge of treason, which was gravely brought against him in the House of Commons. But the Conservatives themselves saw that this was carrying things a little too far; and the motion was quietly dropped.

Mr. Gladstone was "not greatly concerned" about this accusation; if it were treason to speak in condemnation of the Government's course, he was determined that there should be no half way guilt; having been thus warned of the consequences, he went on exactly as he had been doing. In an address delivered toward the last of July at a meeting of Liberals in Bermondsey, he pointed out the necessity for union in the party; postponing merely sectional questions, out of consideration to the elections which would follow dissolution, now not long to be delayed. He spoke freely concerning the course which the Government had pursued, and while he expressed his satisfaction that it was not the Liberals who had carried through such measures, he regretted that there was any party in England capable of such a course.

Shortly before the close of the session, a great debate upon the whole of the Eastern Question was brought about by a resolution which Lord Hartington proposed, affirming that the House was dissatisfied with the provisions of the Berlin Treaty; the undefined engagements entered into by the Government having imposed heavy responsibilities upon the State, with no means of securing their fulfillment; such engagements having been entered into without the knowledge or consent of Parliament. Mr. Gladstone's speech on this occasion was characterized as "unsurpassable for its comprehensive grasp of the subject, its lucidity, point, and the high tone which animated it throughout." Lord Beaconsfield had alleged that his attacks upon the Government constituted a personal provocation. If criticism of this kind were forbidden, he said, they might as well shut the doors of the House. "The liberty of speech which we enjoy, and the publicity which attends our political life and action are, I believe, the matters in which we have the greatest amount of advantage over some other countries of the civilized world. That liberty of speech is the liberty which secures all other liberties, and the abridgment of which would render all other liberties vain and useless possessions."

But the majority of the Ministers were still unchanged; and the resolutions were lost by a large adverse vote. There was a



*The Front Opposition Bench in a Night Session During the
Beaconsfield Administration.*

growing fear, however, that the Imperial Policy of the Government was working against the interests of the people; and that

the course which the Ministry had marked out, would, if pursued to its legitimate end, make the English Parliament what Napoleon III. had made the French Parliament—a merely formal assembly which was really powerless to resist his will.

It would have been the part of wisdom if Beaconsfield had dissolved immediately after his return from Berlin. A dissolution was confidently expected by all, but their expectations were disappointed. He was urged by some of his advisers not to put the country to the expense of a general election at that time, as the drain caused by bad trade had been so heavy as to make this course unadvisable. It would have given him an irresistible majority had he appealed to the country in the first flush of his immense popularity; but he failed to do so. From that time, his star having reached its zenith, began to decline. There were many circumstances which combined to destroy the prestige which the Ministry had acquired; some of these would have operated equally against any Government which might have been in existence at that time; but by far the greater number of reasons for the final fall of the Conservatives was due to their own actions.

The secret engagements which the Plenipotentiaries had entered into with both Russia and Turkey became known, and did much to rob Beaconsfield of all the honor which he had gained by his part in the treaty, and perhaps more. When all was known, people saw that this professed enemy of Russia had ceded to her all that she demanded; that of those provisions of the treaty of 1856 which had been distasteful to her, not one remained in force. Nor was this all. To counterbalance the concessions which had thus been made to Russia, England had agreed to guarantee to Turkey all her Asiatic possessions against all invasion, on condition that Turkey handed over Cyprus to her, to be used as a place of arms. Thus it was made manifest that the Congress of Berlin was a mere piece of empty show, and that "Peace with Honor" had been secured by agreeing beforehand to give the enemy what was demanded.

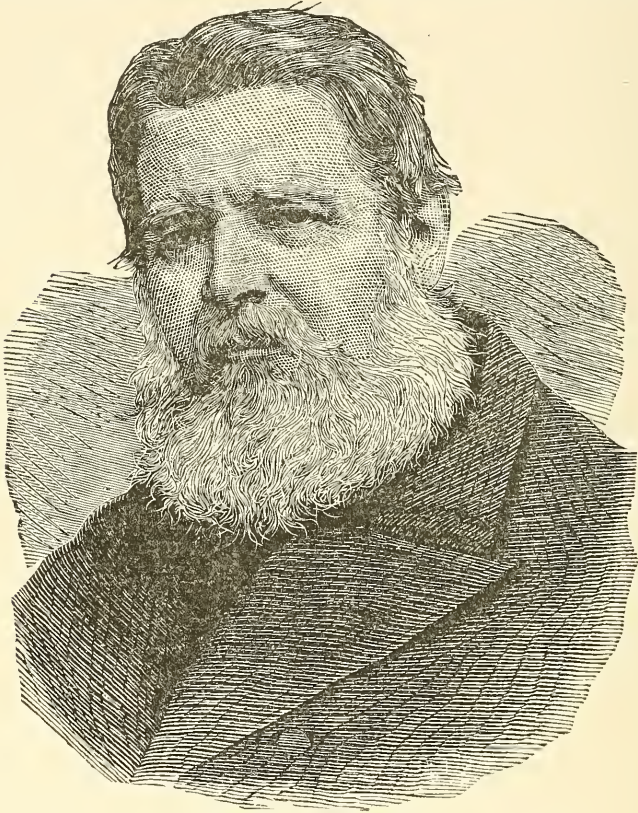
There were other circumstances besides this, which was not wholly sufficient to have accomplished such a result. There was great depression of trade throughout the country; the Government was not of course responsible for this in the first place; but their policy, which had consisted so largely of a series of surprises, had tended to unsettle affairs and make hard

times still harder through the uncertainty of the future. They had not satisfied the country party, to which the Conservatives are always so largely indebted; the malt tax remained a grievance, in spite of the strictures upon the course pursued by the Gladstone Government; and they had begun to clash with the Home Rule party, which was then beginning a new life. The former leader of this organization, Mr. Butt, had long been failing in health, and of late months his place had been supplied by a young man who was destined to become far more prominent than Mr. Butt—the most remarkable politician, says McCarthy, who had arisen on the field of Irish politics since the day when John Mitchell was conveyed away from Dublin to Bermuda. This was Charles Stewart Parnell, whose obstructive policy was, during this administration, highly successful. The Government was blamed for allowing the course of legislation to be thus impeded; but good-natured men of respectable ability and no great force of character, like the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were unable to come off victor in a contest where such tactics were employed. A new chapter of the Irish Question would begin before the Eastern difficulty was fairly settled; and those who disliked the prospect blamed the Government that it should be so.

In addition to all this, there was an evident disagreement among the members of the Cabinet as to the general tendency of the policy of the Ministry. In his speeches in the House of Lords, the Premier always endeavored to magnify his office, and to glorify the ambitious imperial policy which he had adopted. When such a speech was made, Sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. Cross would follow it up with explanations in the House of Commons of all the questionable points and reduced to the most practicable limits the objects of the ruling foreign policy.

Mr. Gladstone having announced his intention of retiring from the representation of Greenwich at the next general election, paid a farewell visit to his constituency Nov. 30th. In a speech delivered before a meeting of the Liberal Association, he urged upon them the necessity for united action; the votes which the Liberal party had given to its opponent at the last election were twenty-six in number; and the Government had at times been carried on for years with a majority no greater. At a subsequent meeting, an address was presented, expressing the regret of his constituents that he should have thought it necessary to retire from the representation of this borough.

The position of the Government with regard to Russia was a subject upon which he dwelt with special emphasis in his reply to this address, showing that while the Opposition had been charged with undue leanings to that Power, the Ministry had been the real friend of her ambition ; since it was the British Government which had been concerned in the conclusion of that treaty



Sir Stafford Northcote (afterward Earl of Iddesleigh).

which had given her all that she had lost in 1856. Passing from this topic to the subject of the Afghan War, which was then just begun, he blamed the Government severely for its injustice to an inferior Power, on which it had forced a war.

This war was another thing which contributed to make the Ministry less popular. The Ameer had declined to receive European Residents at his capital ; Russia, in violation of the treaty by

which she had covenanted to exercise no influence in Afghanistan, sent a Mission thither, which, when the English Government remonstrated, she declared was no more than a Mission of courtesy. The Government "sang small to Russia," as Mr. Gladstone expressed it, but dispatched troops to Afghanistan, to force the Ameer to receive an English Resident. The war had been begun upon the responsibility of the Ministry; Parliament would shortly be called upon to divide the responsibility with them; and to the people, who would soon have to indorse or repudiate the policy of the Government, he called for a rebuke of this great injustice. His closing words are significant, not only in connection with this long-past war, but considered as a commentary upon all governmental action:

"It is written in the eternal laws of the universe of God that sin shall be followed by suffering. An unjust war is a tremendous sin. The question which you have to consider is whether this war is just or unjust. So far as I am able to collect the evidence, it is unjust. It fills me with the greatest alarm lest it should be proved to be grossly and totally unjust. If so, we should come under the stroke of the everlasting law that suffering shall follow sin; and the day will arrive, come it soon or come it late, when the people of England will discover that national injustice is the surest road to national downfall."

There was a short session of Parliament held in December, during which there was a long debate upon this war. Mr. Gladstone's speech was a powerful arraignment of the Government for the blunders and the negligence which, joined to its insane desire for the extension of its imperial policy, had led to this war. The vote of censure was, however, defeated; though it is not improbable that many voted for the Government who were really opposed to this war, but would not lend their voice to call for the downfall of Disraeli.

A question which engaged the attention of the House of Commons early in the session of 1879 was the claims of Greece, which had been provided for by a Protocol of the Berlin Congress; but which the English Government had taken no steps toward recognizing. Mr. Gladstone supported the resolution which called for an inquiry into the state of the case, and urged the redemption of the pledges which had been given by England. The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied that the matter was one which engaged the serious attention of the Government, and

he hoped that his assurance of that fact would be sufficient for the House. It was sufficient, and the question was allowed to rest upon the promise of the Government; a promise, which, we need hardly say, there was never any attempt made to fulfill.

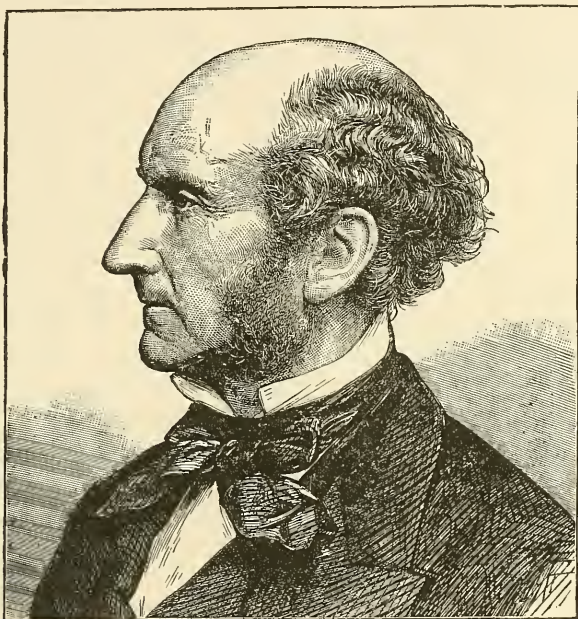
There was a debate of some importance upon the use which the Beaconsfield Ministry had made of the Prerogative; and a motion was introduced by Mr. Dillwyn, affirming that it was necessary to look more strictly into the mode and limits of its action, in order to correct the growing extension and abuse of it by the Ministry, who had used the supposed personal interposition of the Sovereign to forward their policy. Mr. Gladstone said that this abuse of the Prerogative had been sanctioned in every case by a large majority, and that censure ought to be directed against the whole number of members who composed that majority.

After a debate upon the Zulu war, which is of little interest now, we find what is the first instance of serious conflict between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell. The Speaker had ordered notes of the proceedings and debates of the House to be taken for his own private use. The Home Rulers interpreted this as aimed especially against their small but active party; and Mr. Parnell brought forward a resolution that this was contrary to precedent, a breach of the privileges of Parliament, and a danger to the liberty and independence of debate. Mr. Gladstone was among the first to speak upon the subject, after the resolution had been proposed. It was the first instance which he had witnessed of a House impugning the motives of its Speaker. He demanded that the motion should be subjected to a direct negative; this was done, and a majority of two hundred and sixty-eight, in a House but half full, demonstrated that the Home Rulers could not depend on any one but the immediate members of their own party in such a question.

The Liberals, led by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington, made a gallant effort to abolish corporal punishment in the army; but the Government, so rapidly losing prestige outside, was still strong in the House; and they were not successful.

Nor was the financial policy such as the great financier could approve. The course of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in submitting two budgets a year, was subversive of the principle that the Government should be immediately dependent upon Parliament for a ratification of its plans in this respect. Mr.

Gladstone's denunciations of the Government have been called unmeasured and unwarrantable; but surely he whose own excellence in this department of the Administration has never been questioned was entitled to judge of the success which others had attained, and the measure of praise or censure which justly belonged to them. He had done the work well; the present Government was not content until it had reversed every point of his domestic policy. The future pointed out which was the wiser course.



John Stuart Mill.

It would seem, indeed, that the Conservative party has never possessed the wisdom of the Liberals, in dealing with questions which affect the domestic policy of the Government. The Tories have never led in such matters, but have been content to follow, at long distances in some cases, in the footsteps of their rivals on the path of reform. Part of this disposition is doubtless due to the composition of the party, which includes many timid and fearful souls. Some there are, as Mr. Gladstone once pointed out in speaking of Sir Robert Peel and other leaders, who have been as far advanced as the Liberal leaders themselves; but there is

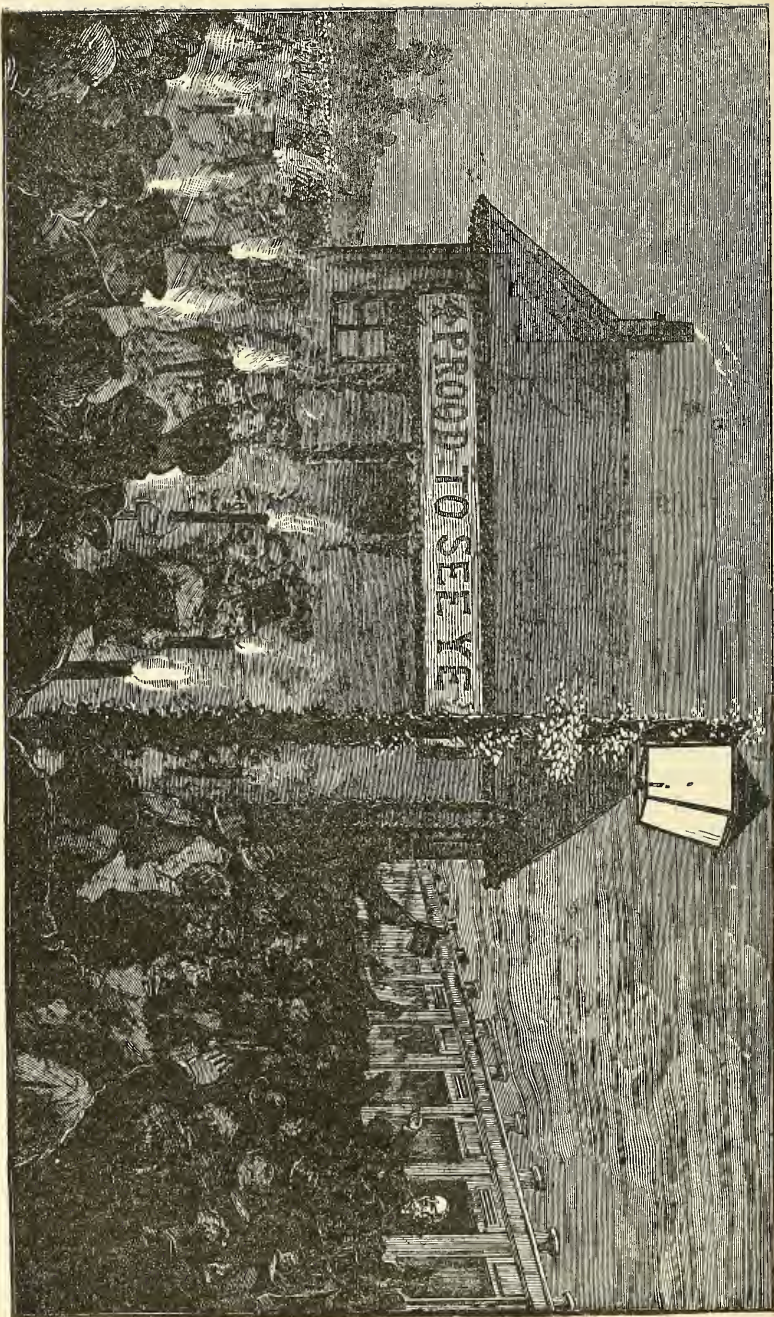


Mr. Gladstone's Triumphant Progress through Midlothian.

much meaning in John Stuart Mill's dictum regarding this party. He had been accused of saying that they were all stupid. "I did not say that all Conservatives were stupid," he replied, with elaborate care; "what I did say was that all stupid people are Conservatives."

The House of Commons was becoming demoralized. What would have been the case if Mr. Disraeli had retained the leadership, it is impossible to say; but Sir Stafford Northcote generally tried to be strong where he ought to have been yielding, and was frequently compelled to be yielding where he ought to have been strong. A scheme for university education in Ireland was brought in by the Government, which was really a mutilation of Mr. Gladstone's rejected measure. It was carried through both Houses very quickly, and the Ministers flattered themselves that they had secured the attachment of the Irish without alienating their Conservative supporters in Great Britain. But the Irish were not conciliated by a law which did not concede nearly enough of their demands; and many of the Non-conformists were offended even by this moderate measure.

The Liberals loudly demanded dissolution. The Parliament would expire by limitation the next year, and many of the Opposition, among whom Mr. Gladstone was the most prominent, urged that the Parliament ought not to run to its full length. But the Government would not listen to this argument; indeed, the persistency with which they shut their ears to it caused the frequent remark that they were afraid to meet the people at the polls. This once said, it was eagerly caught up by the Liberals, who insisted vehemently that all they wished was an appeal to the people. Perhaps in their hearts they were not at all certain of the effect of such an appeal; but they kept up a bold front and persistently demanded dissolution. The more the challenge was repeated, the more the Government held back. The result of several bye-elections during the autumn of 1879 and the succeeding winter revived the spirits of the Conservatives, which had begun to droop under the persistent boasts of the rival party; and of course had the opposite effect upon the Liberals. It mattered little that in the most notable of these Conservative victories the question had been one of men rather than of parties, and that the personal popularity of the successful candidate was such that defeat would have been most improbable; the effect upon the parties was the same.



Reception of Mr. Gladstone on his Return to Scotland.

Becoming the candidate for Midlothian, in the latter part of the year 1879 Mr. Gladstone visited Scotland and poured out the floods of his eloquence in vigorous attacks on the Government and its policy. His progress through "the land o' cakes" was a continued ovation from all classes. Receptions, processions, illuminations, followed one after the other, while the "Grand Old Man" delivered his most telling and sledge-hammer-like blows upon his opponents. Scotland has generally been loyal to her eminent son, and it seemed as if the enthusiasm of the people knew no bounds.

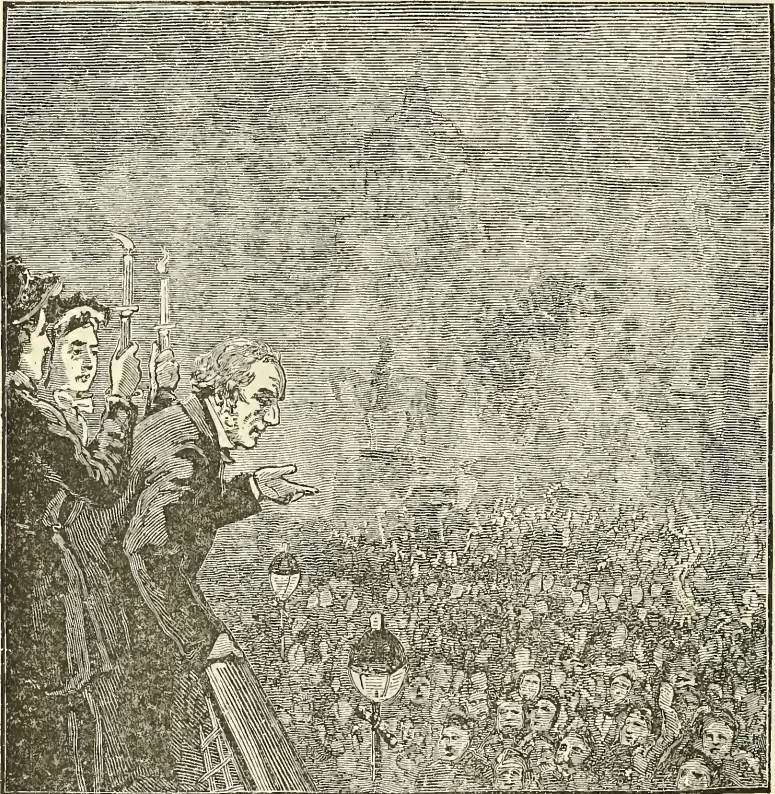
Returned to the House by his usual triumphant majority, Parliament met in February, and there was no promise of a dissolution before the expiration of the legal term. It was to be a fair working session, the Government declared. Suddenly, to the surprise of all, it was announced that they had accepted Mr. Gladstone's challenge; they would dissolve at the Easter recess. The dissolution accordingly took place March 24th, 1880, and writs were at once issued for a new election. For a graphic description of the result, the reader is advised to turn back to the page where Mr. Disraeli's words are quoted as the most eloquent account of the rout of the Opposition in Lord Derby's time. Put "Ministerial" in place of "Opposition," and the change makes it entirely applicable.

With all the buoyancy of youth, Mr. Gladstone immediately returned to Scotland, and the scenes of his just previous visit and election were gone through with again, with, if possible, more enthusiasm than before. Speech followed speech, and political excitement raged in all its intensity. Of the result here and over the whole kingdom, there is no need to speak. Local influence and opposition in every shape were doomed to ignominious failure. Young Lord Rosebery, standing by his side on the balcony of the Rosebery mansion at Edinburgh on the evening of April 5th, declared to the delighted populace heaving and cheering below, that "it was a great night for Midlothian, for Scotland, for Great Britain, and for the world," whilst a wag in the crowd capped the climax by adding, "and a bad night for Dizzy."

For the very first day of the election demonstrated that the Conservatives would be defeated. The certainty was made more apparent as time went on; defeat became disaster; disaster became utter rout. The Liberals came back to power with a ma-

majority of a hundred and twenty—unparalleled in the history of the party.

There had been one man who had brought this about, by a persistence under defeat which had scarcely been rivalled by Beaconsfield himself. When others would have sat still, folding their hands when they saw that failure was inevitable at the

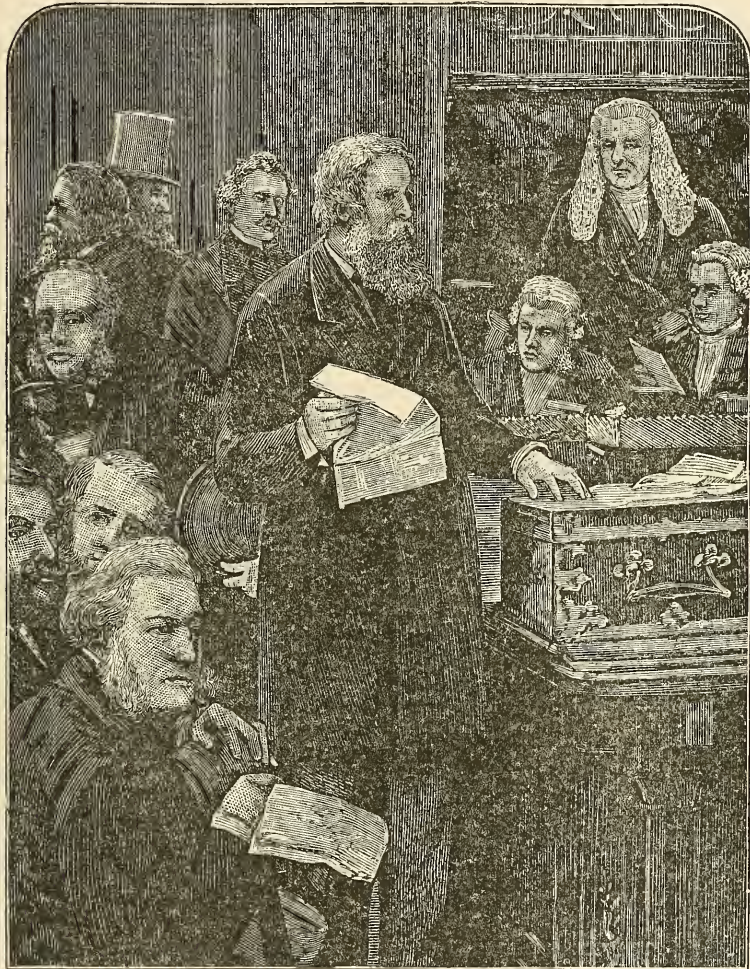


Mr. Gladstone Speaking at Lord Rosebery's House after the Election.

time, he had labored. "He had dragged his party after him into many a danger. He had compelled them more than once to fight where many of them would fain have held back, and where none of them saw any chance of victory. Now, at last, the battle had been given into his hands, and it was a matter of necessity that the triumph should bring back to power the man whose energy and eloquence had inspired the struggle." To him

all eyes in Britain were turned as the next Prime Minister.

But the Queen, whose shining domestic virtues are not incompatible with an overweening appreciation of her own dignity,



Chancellor Northcote Announcing the Dissolution of Parliament.

could not forgive the overthrow of the Minister who had done so much to magnify the respect paid her. To Beaconsfield she owed, not only the empty title of "Empress of India," but a more real extension of the power of the Crown, since his Gov-

ernment had so frequently invoked the royal Prerogative. To the man who had opposed such measures, and successfully, she was not willing to accord the reward which the popular voice would have given him. The Liberals must certainly have the direction of affairs; but Mr. Gladstone should not be at the head of the new Ministry. The post was offered to Lord Hartington, the chosen leader of the party and the chief figure in the Opposition—whenever Mr. Gladstone was absent. But the noble Marquis declined the offer of the post, and assured Her Majesty that there was only one Liberal Premier possible. The Queen was obdurate, and persisted. Lord Granville, the leading Liberal in the House of Lords, was sent for; he attended Her Majesty, but declined, like his Commoner associate, to receive the command to form a Ministry; there was but one man, he assured the Queen, who could fill that position. The case was a hopeless one. The Liberal party was indeed united in this hour of triumph. The Queen sent for Mr. Gladstone at last, and commanded him to form a Cabinet. There was no hesitation this time.

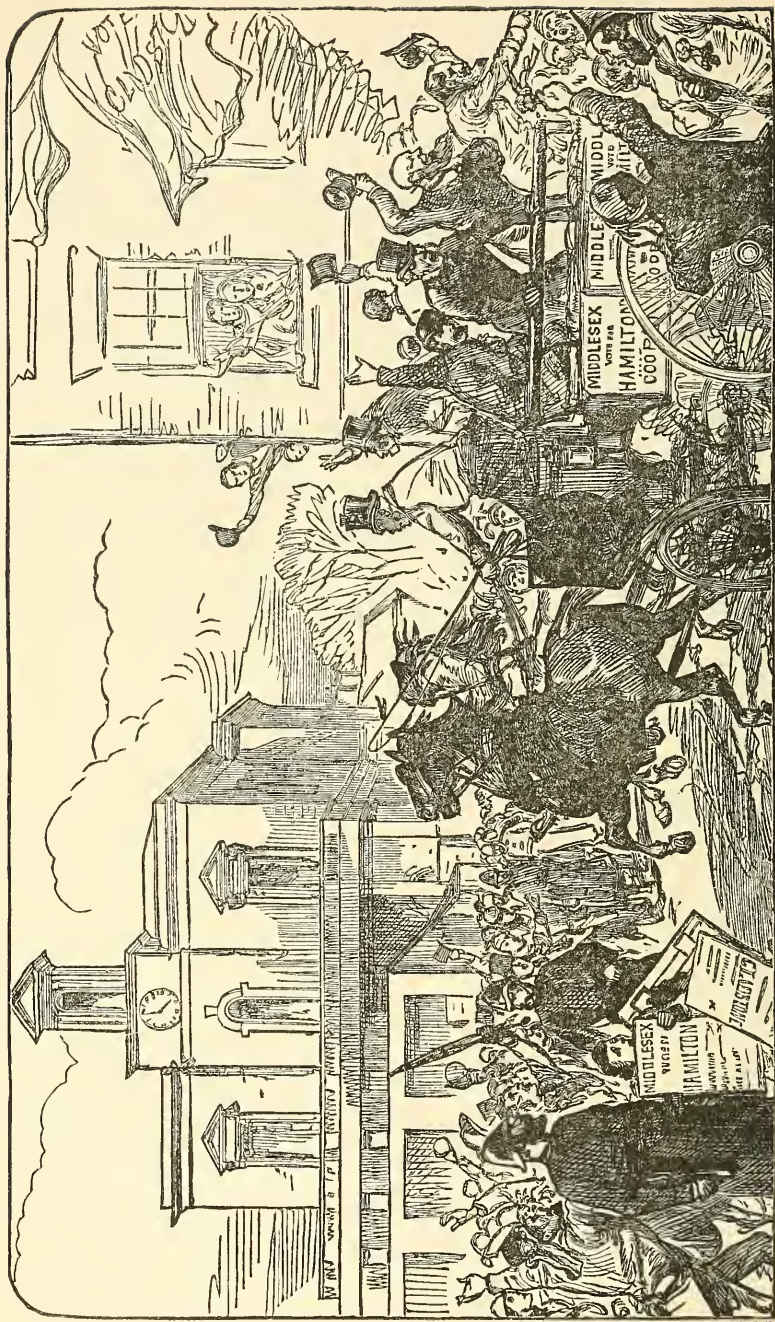
CHAPTER XIII.

THE SECOND GLADSTONE MINISTRY.

Great Liberal Majority—Importance of the Irish Question—Mr. Bradlaugh in Parliament—Lord Randolph Churchill—Great Expectations from the Gladstone Ministry—Treaty of Berlin Concerning Montenegro—Claims of Greece—Trying to Adjust Domestic Taxes—Game Laws—Post-office Department—Illness of Mr. Gladstone—Irish Land Law not Satisfactory—Peace Preservation Act—Irish Evictions—Home Rulers—Land League—Long Debate—Coercion Bills—Eloquent Speech of John Bright—Memorable Scene in the House of Commons—Ludicrous Incidents—Mr. Parnell and Irish Legislation—Final Passage of the Irish Bill.

THE immense majority which had swept Mr. Gladstone into power did not remove the first difficulty which presented itself after his appointment as First Minister of the Crown. If he had had about six Cabinets to form, it might have been all very well; but having only one, there was considerable difficulty in deciding upon the rival claims of the many men who were thought to be entitled to positions in it. Of course Lord Hartington, who had been the leader of the Liberal party under peculiarly trying circumstances, being constantly overshadowed by Mr. Gladstone himself, who could not keep away from the House of Commons or political life in general, must be included in it; equally certain was it that Lord Granville must be offered a post of importance. Mr. Bright was likewise necessary; and, much to the dismay of the Whigs, the Radicals demanded recognition. Radicalism was indeed what had helped to swell the Liberal majority more than any other element except the party itself; Radicalism was too formidable an ally to be offended; it would be better to let the Whigs growl. Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke were the most prominent men of this party, and they agreed that each would heartily support the other. The former was accordingly made President of the Board of Trade, and the latter, for whom no seat in the Cabinet could be found, was made Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Lord Granville being Foreign Secretary, Lord Hartington,



Middlesex Parliamentary Election, 1880.

Secretary for India, and Mr. Bright, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, there was but one more office of importance to the after history of the Ministry. This was filled by Mr. Forster as Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant.

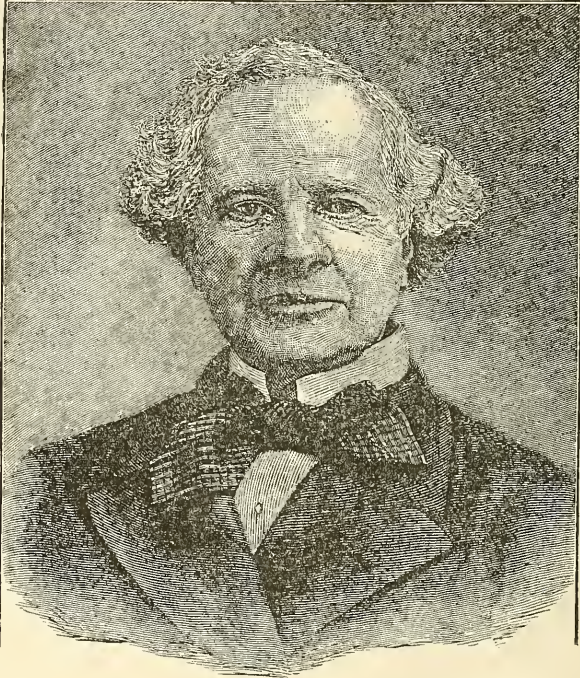
The Irish Question was indeed one of importance. It was the prime cause of the late unexpected dissolution; and Lord Beaconsfield had characterized the Home Rule movement as "scarcely less disastrous than pestilence and famine." Perhaps support of that movement was the legitimate outgrowth of that anti-imperialism which had brought the Liberals back to power; it became later the cause of division in the party which materially increased the strength of a Conservative Government, and delayed still longer the justice for which Ireland had been crying out so long. The Irish vote, while it was not large enough in many constituencies to send a representative to Parliament, was yet often the casting vote between Liberals and Conservatives. In the election of 1880 their voice was wholly for the Liberals; not because they were Liberals, but because they were not Tories. "Anything to beat Beaconsfield," was the motto under which they rallied; if we may be permitted so to parody a campaign battle-cry of American politics.

The places in the Cabinet having all been filled, there were some men omitted who must be placated; and to these a title was offered. Among them, Mr. Lowe was the chief. Mr. Lowe was not reliable as a supporter of his chief; he was too incapable of sacrificing his own opinion or abandoning his own ideas ever to become a successful assistant to any minister; Mr. Gladstone had tried to get on with him, but was well assured by that experience that it would be much easier to get on without him. Mr. Lowe accordingly disappeared from the House of Commons as Lord Sherbrooke took his seat in the House of Lords. But the bitter, brilliant speaker, a man of splendid gifts and wide and original ideas, as well as profoundly cultured, seemed to find the atmosphere of the Upper House anything but stimulating. He sank into a state which was almost apathy, as compared with the fieriness of Mr. Lowe, and he seldom addressed the Peers upon the subjects of debate.

Among the most remarkable circumstances attending this change of Ministry, was the conversion of Lord Derby. This nobleman had, as we have already seen, held no mean post in the late Conservative Cabinet, which he had resigned when he saw

that the course which the Foreign Minister was expected to pursue was one which he could not follow. He was openly compared to Titus Oates by a political ally and a near relative; but Lord Salisbury, in so resenting his change of political opinions, was apparently oblivious of the fact that his chief had begun life as a Radical of the most pronounced type. At any rate, the Earl of Derby now ranked himself as a Liberal Peer.

There had been other changes than this. Mr. Bright, who had been regarded as a Radical of the Radicals, when he first came in-



Lord Granville.

to political prominence, had paled into comparative conservatism beside the new apostles of that school, of whom Mr. Chamberlain was the accepted representative. Sir Charles Dilke, who had openly announced himself as a Republican, and been sternly rebuked therefor by Mr. Gladstone, had now softened his belief so far as to accept a post in Mr. Gladstone's Ministry.

Lord Selborne's political views, on the other hand, had been modified as gradually as Mr. Gladstone's own; and even at this date, he did not admit that he was altogether a Liberal, but

styled himself a Liberal-Conservative. As Sir Roundell Palmer, he had opposed the action of the Ministry in the disestablish-



Members of a New Parliament Signing the Roll.

ment of the Irish Church ; but he had proved himself a sound lawyer and an honorable politician ; so that his appointment as Lord Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal was felt to be a real recognition of desert.

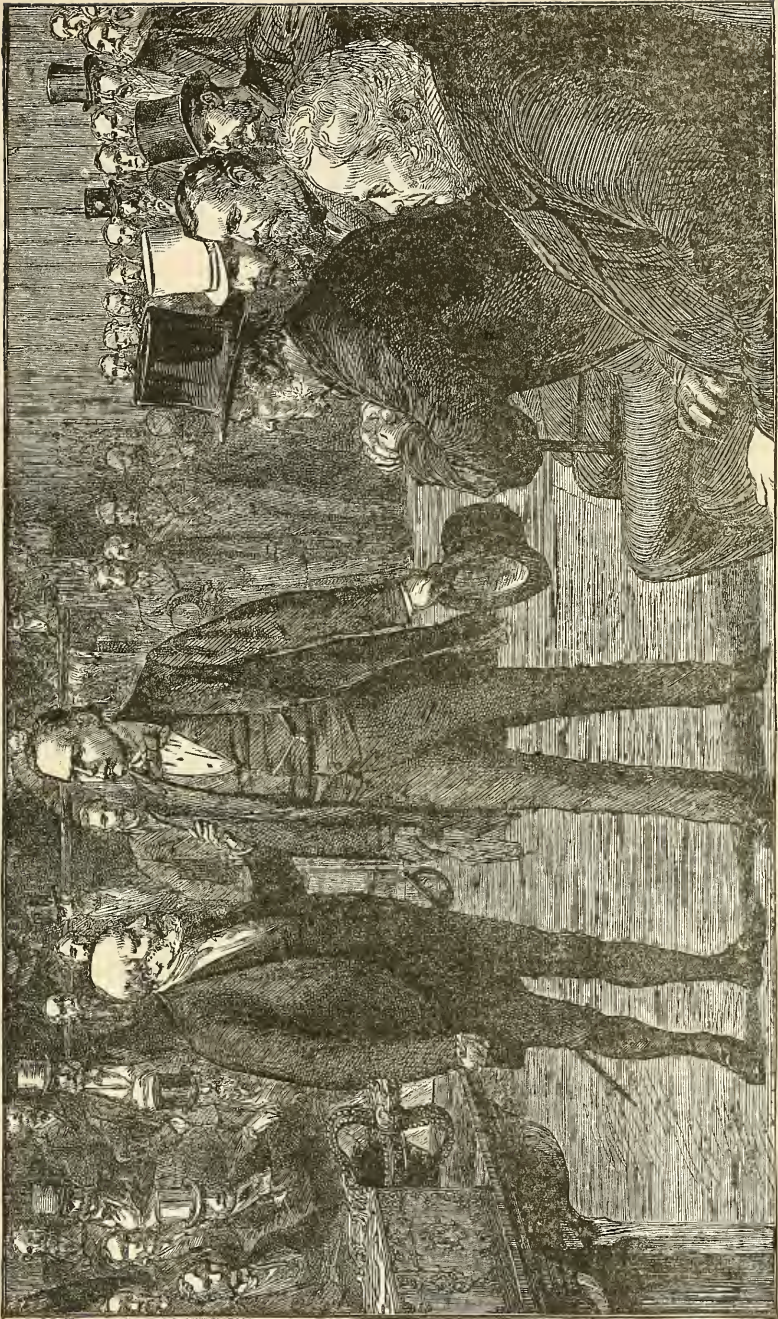
Great interest was awakened during this session concerning the admission of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh to the House of Commons. He was born near London in 1833, of very poor parents, and early gave promise of a remarkable career. Having become an atheist, and being widely known as a writer and speaker upon atheistical subjects, his next achievement was to obtain an election to Parliament. On the 3d of May he presented himself at the table of the House of Commons, and said that he wished to be allowed to make affirmation, instead of taking the oath in the usual manner. His reason was well known to be his aversion to acknowledging the supremacy of the Christian religion, or, indeed, any religion at all, as he must do in taking an oath.

The Speaker declined to take the responsibility of a decision, and left the matter to the judgment of the House. It was proposed to appoint a select committee to decide the question, and the motion was approved by the Opposition as well as by the Government. The Government, however, aroused the indignation of the House by proposing the names of several members who had recently taken office, and were therefore not in the strictest sense members of the House, since they were obliged to go before their constituents again. The ministry was accused of weakness in its desire to hurry matters, and the accusation was perhaps not undeserved. After a sharp debate, however, the Government carried its point, and the committee was nominated.

Mr. Bradlaugh had claimed the right to make an affirmation under the Parliamentary Oaths Act; but the committee decided, by the casting vote of the chairman, that Mr. Bradlaugh did not belong to the privileged classes of Moravians and Quakers, who were the persons for whose benefit this act had been passed.

This was an unexpected difficulty for the Government, which had fully expected the decision to be favorable to Mr. Bradlaugh. The Opposition flattered itself that it had got rid of Mr. Bradlaugh, but now arose a new difficulty. Mr. Bradlaugh presented himself at the table of the House of Commons again and announced that he was ready to take the oath.

A new committee was appointed, and this authority decided that Mr. Bradlaugh ought not to be permitted to take the oath, though it might be wise to let him affirm. Mr. Labouchere, his colleague



Formal Arrest of Charles Bradlaugh in the House of Commons.

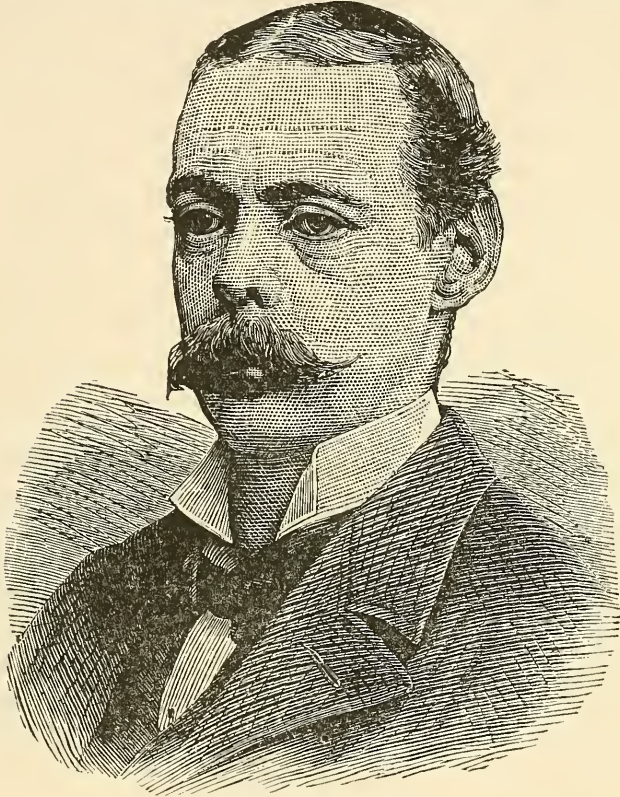
in the representation of Northampton, offered a resolution declaring his right to make affirmation. This resolution was supported by the Prime Minister; but this measure, the first trial of strength between the Ministry and the Opposition, if a question which involved no part of the Government's policy could be so called, resulted in a defeat to the Cabinet's cause. The resolution was lost by a vote of two hundred and seventy-five to two hundred and thirty.

But Mr. Bradlaugh was not willing to accept defeat. On the following day he presented himself at the table to be sworn. The Speaker gravely informed him of the resolution of the House, and requested him to withdraw. He claimed the privilege of being heard at the bar of the House, and this he was not refused. His speech was an eloquent one, but it did not avail him. Advancing at its conclusion to the table, he again demanded that the oath be administered; the serjeant-at-arms touched him on the shoulder, and he again retired below the bar, but only to advance and plead, from the very floor of the House, for what he believed to be his right. The Speaker appealed to the House, and Mr. Bradlaugh was arrested in due form.

He was not kept under restraint for a long time, however, but was released in the course of the week. Immediately upon his release, the Government introduced a resolution to the effect that any one claiming the privilege of making an affirmation should be allowed to do so, at his own risk of the statutory penalties provided in case of any one not duly qualified to sit and vote, attempting to do so. This resolution was carried, and under it Mr. Bradlaugh was finally allowed to take his seat. An action was immediately brought against him, however, to recover heavy penalties for having sat and voted without having previously taken the oath. As the penalty for each vote so cast was £500, the sum claimed rapidly grew to tremendous proportions.

The Bradlaugh episode was a windfall to the Conservatives, disheartened as they had been by the severe losses in the late election. They saw that the immense Liberal majority was not a sure support of the Government; that the party was not really as united as the leader would have had it. It was an unexpected source of strength; if not of absolute power in debate, it was yet a powerful weapon with which to annoy the Ministry.

There was yet another effect of the Bradlaugh controversy. Out of it arose the Fourth Party, as it was called, derisively at first. In the House of Commons there was the son of a great Tory duke, to whom nobody had ever paid much attention. He had been listened to, of course, but simply because he was the son of the



Lord Randolph Churchill.

Duke of Marlborough; not for any interest which he had been able to excite by his speeches. This was a golden opportunity, and he seized upon it. He was the bitter opponent of the atheistic claimant of a seat, and of the Government which supported that claim.

All the members laughed at the young Lord Randolph Churchill, as they have laughed in other days at many who became famous in spite of the laughter; remembering Burke and Disraeli, Lord

Randolph paid no attention to the ridicule, and spoke when he pleased ; he also said what he pleased, regardless of the Conservative traditions which were constantly being thrown at his head. He soon found adherents. In the days of the Adullamites, Mr. Bright had quoted authorities to prove that two men might constitute a party : Lord Randolph had a superabundance of followers, reckoned on that basis, for, including the leader, the Fourth Party soon numbered four members. These fated invigorators of the enervated Tory Party were Sir Henry Wolff, Mr. Gorst and Mr. Arthur Balfour.

When the intentions of the new party were announced by its leaders, the gentlemen sitting on the Treasury benches were accustomed to smile in a good-natured sort of way, as indulgent elders smile at wayward children ; the gentlemen on the opposite side of the House would reflect this smile ; and perhaps it would often extend to the small Third Party, the Parnellites. But this was soon changed. They saw that the Conservative party, since Sir Stafford Northcote had succeeded Mr. Disraeli as its leader in the House of Commons, had lost "all of its passion and most of its vitality." Its chief characteristic, says a keen-sighted critic, appeared to be a "comprehensive amiability." But there was nothing amiable about the Fourth Party, politically considered. It was their business to annoy and obstruct the Government ; and their perseverance and unflagging energy certainly entitled them to the success which they obtained.

Passing now from the difficulties which encompassed the Government in its foreign policy, we come to the domestic legislation. It was but a broken session, and there was not much accomplished in this direction. The supplementary budget was introduced by Mr. Gladstone early in June ; the Premier holding the double office of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was proposed to reduce the tax on light foreign wines, to re-adjust the tax upon alcoholic liquors ; to abolish the malt-tax, and substitute a duty upon beer ; and to supply the deficiency which these changes would create by adding a penny to the income tax.

This budget was accepted with slight modifications, though there was some dissatisfaction expressed that it said nothing about the

Indian deficiency ; Mr. Gladstone stating in the speech with which he introduced the financial scheme of the Government, that he was not as yet prepared to make any statement on that subject.

The old measure to permit the burial of Non-conformists in church yards with the rites of the sect to which their friends belonged was again brought forward this session. It originated in the House of Lords and was finally carried.



Sir William Vernon Harcourt.

Other very important legislation was carried this session. Among this was an amendment to the iniquitous game laws. Hitherto no tenant farmer dared kill a hare or rabbit, no matter how his crops were damaged, and these pests were preserved for the landlords' sport. Harcourts' "Hare and Rabbit Bill," however, gave the right to the tenant to kill in certain seasons, and made such right inalienable. There was also a measure for the remission of cumulative penalties for failure to vaccinate, but the

Government was obliged to withdraw it, as it was bitterly opposed by many Liberals as well as Conservatives. The Government also brought forward a bill to regulate the responsibility of employers with regard to accidents by which their workmen might be injured. Under the old law, an employer was not responsible unless the accident were proved to be the result of his direct personal negligence; the bill thus introduced made his immediate delegate or person implied as such, his full representative.

While this bill did not go far enough to please the advocates of the workingmen, it went too far to please the Lords, who desired to limit its operation to the term of two years. The Commons extended this to seven, when the bill came down again with the amendment of the Peers, and the Upper Chamber accepted this compromise.

This action was perhaps due to the fact that the workingman was represented in this Parliament as he had never been before. For the first time in English history, men who had supported themselves and their families by actual manual labor sat in the House of Commons, and took part in the councils of the nation. There had been theorists there, who had contended for the rights of the lower classes as something in which they took a kindly interest or which they advocated because, without any special regard for the workingman individually, they saw that his welfare meant the welfare of all other classes; but never before had one of themselves spoken for him. It was the direct result, the ultra Tories told each other, of that Reform Bill, which had been entirely too sweeping in its provisions; and the Tory advocates of the Reform Bill were forced to admit that it was. Of course the workingmen sat on the benches at the right of the Speaker, and that made it all the worse.

Mr. Fawcett made a number of propositions in connection with the Post Office Department, over which he presided. With that same resolute determination which put aside his blindness as no insuperable bar to political prominence, he had mastered the details of his work, and had seen clearly what changes were needed. Perhaps the best tribute to the wisdom of the measures which he proposed is to be found in their speedy passage. They were recognized as things which the public demanded, and as valuable aids to

increasing the prosperity of the people. The Post Office Savings Banks which Mr. Gladstone had advocated so strongly in 1861 had proved a great success; and Mr. Fawcett secured the extension of their influence. He also passed a bill providing for the issuing of Postal Notes, similar to those which were subsequently introduced into use in this country.

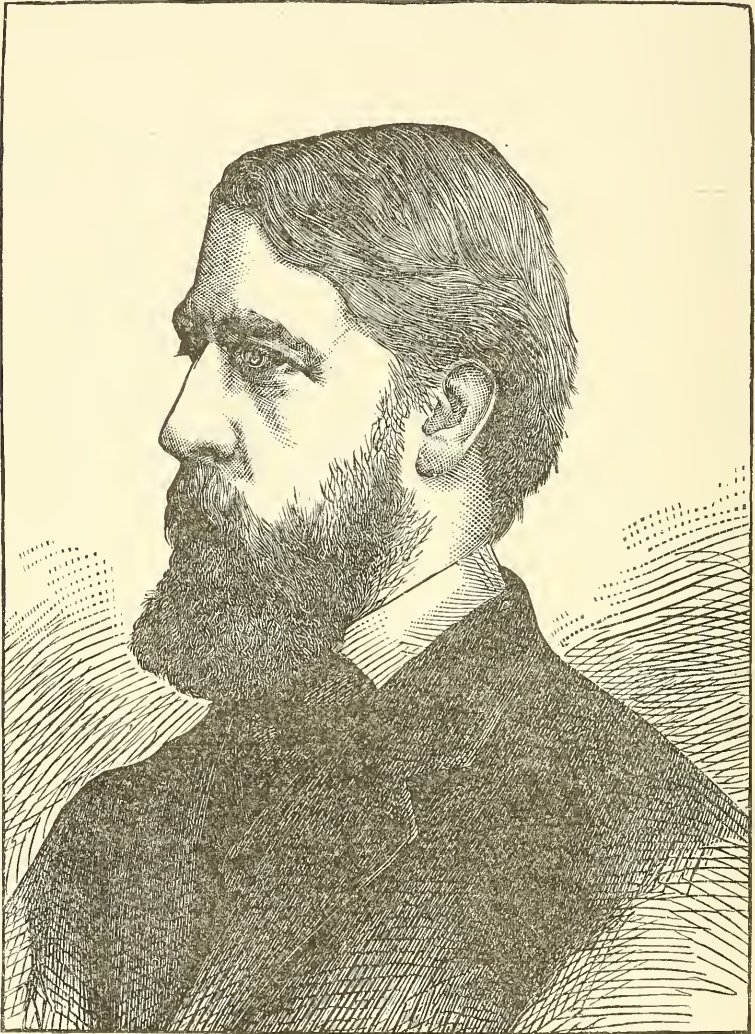
The proposal to erect a tablet in Westminster Abbey to the memory of the young Prince Imperial, who had been killed a year before in the Zulu war, excited intense opposition among those members who had been so bitterly opposed to Napoleon III., and the motion was not carried. A debate which was not of much interest otherwise, and of no more importance than this measure, was the nomination of M. Challemeil Lacour as French ambassador to England. Mr. O'Donnell having attacked the proposed representative of France for his actions during the Commune, Mr. Gladstone moved that Mr. O'Donnell be no longer heard. This was a revival of a custom which had not been in use for more than two centuries, and was adversely commented on at the time, as tending to recall the days of the first Stuarts.

In the latter part of July Mr. Gladstone fell ill. His disease proved to be but a slight fever; but for a few days there was intense anxiety regarding him. Visitors thronged the door of the house in Downing Street, among whom Lord Beaconsfield was a conspicuous figure. His medical advisers forbidding him to return to political life for a time, upon his partial recovery he accepted the use of Sir Donald Currie's vessel, "Grantully Castle," and did not return to Parliament until Sept. 4th. His place in the House of Commons as leader of the Government, was of course filled by Lord Hartington, who plodded along with that sturdy determination which has always been characteristic of his political life.

The Indian Budget was brought before the House during Mr. Gladstone's absence. There was, as had been supposed, an enormous deficit. Lord Hartington declined to make any definite statement as to how this was to be met until the exact amount was known; but it was proposed to supply the deficiency temporarily by means of loans.

In connection with the session of 1880, there remains one sub-

ject to be noticed; a subject which was brought up first in the Queen's speech, and which at the close of the session was left in



Lord Hartington.

pretty much the same state as it was at the beginning. This was nothing else than the Irish Question. If the spirit of all the men who ever sat in the House of Commons could be assembled in

ghostly conclave, they would, from sheer force of habit, fall to discussing the Irish question; it is the only topic which could interest all, from the days of King John to the days of Queen Victoria; other wrongs have been redressed, other rights have been asserted and maintained; the rights and wrongs of Ireland, and Ireland alone, are the unfailing source of the waters of strife.

The first Gladstone Ministry had passed two measures which were intended to give the long-delayed justice to the unfortunate sister-island, and had fallen on the attempt to pass a third. But the Land Law then passed was far from being satisfactory. What were known as the Bright clauses, intended to make the purchase of land by the tenant possible, were found especially impracticable. By the law disestablishing the Irish Church it was arranged that the church tenants who wished to buy their holdings outright should be allowed to do so, certain very easy terms being arranged.

Mr. Bright endeavored to incorporate something of the same kind in the general Land Law; but the land was so encumbered with tithe-charges, and quit-rents, and drainage charges, that there was a constant wrangle between the original holders and the purchasers. Besides this, the necessity for a strict investigation of the title, and other expenses of the transfer, sometimes amounted to as much as thirty per cent. of the whole value; for the law required the title to be a Landed Estates Court document, which is absolutely binding, no matter what claims may be made after the conveyance. The Government had aimed to establish a class of peasant proprietors; but the scheme was an impracticable one.

There was really but one thing accomplished by this act, and that was the establishment of the Ulster system of tenant-right, as far as a custom varying on each estate could be reduced to a general system. That was but one of the things at which the Government aimed. Something at which they did not aim, but which the law did, nevertheless, was the fresh impetus which was thus given to the Land Question. The Irish began to feel that this was not all that would be done; that there really was some hope of a better time coming.

The Queen's speech at the opening of the session made one most important announcement with regard to Irish affairs. The

Peace Preservation Act would not be renewed. This meant that the ordinary law would be allowed to take its course, and the Government would try to rule Ireland without resorting to coercion. Another important point was the promise that the borough franchise of Ireland should be extended. Notable as these promises were, the Irish leaders were scarcely satisfied, however; there should be something done to stay evictions, they thought, since these had increased in an alarming ratio of late years.

The Irish members made a gallant attempt to perform the duty for which they had been elected, in preparing a bill for the purpose of staying evictions. This the government refused to accept; but proposed in place of it a Compensation for Disturbance bill, which adopted some of their suggestions. In cases where a non-payment of rent was due to insolvency caused by a failure of crops, the county court judges were authorized to allow compensation. Mr. Forster explained to the House that this was simply an extension of the act of 1870, and denied that it was a concession to the anti-rent agitation. At the same time he admitted that since 1877 the annual rate at which evictions had increased was nearly double that of previous years.

The bill passed the House of Commons after a protracted debate, and went up to the Lords. But the Peers did not see as the Commons did, and rejected it by an immense majority. The violence with which many evictions had been resisted, and the outrages which had been perpetuated in revenge for the wrongs inflicted, in the eyes of the peasants, by the landlord class, were an insuperable bar to any favorable consideration of the claims of the Irish. Perhaps, had this measure passed the Lords, there would have been less agitation in Ireland since that time; but after the lapse of a decade the same state of affairs obtained.

The Irish members pleaded vainly with the Government for some resistance of this fiat of the Peers. The most that the Ministry would do was to promise a comprehensive measure next session with a committee, for the present, to inquire into the agricultural condition of the country. Perhaps the Ministers, in the absence of their chief, hesitated to take any decided action; and certainly such action, taken by Hartington, would have had much less weight than if Gladstone had insisted upon it.

The Home Rulers were of course bitterly opposed to this quiescence, and did not hesitate to say so, in many speeches which the Government considered inflammatory; and this judgment was perhaps not without foundation. The Ministry had made the mistake of not consulting a single Irish member in connection with



Hon. Edward Forster.

its Irish policy; incredible as it may seem, not even those moderate members, who, under the leadership of Mr. Shaw, sat and voted with the Liberals, were treated as political friends and allies in this respect.

Among the speeches outside of Parliament which thus aroused

the ire of the Government was one delivered by Mr. Dillon, in which he called upon the young farmers of Ireland to defend those who were threatened with eviction. The attention of the Irish Secretary having been called to this speech, he denounced it as wicked and cowardly. Mr. Dillon replied; Mr. Forster retorted. Then came one debate after another, upon Irish topics; during one of these discussions, the Secretary took occasion to defend the Irish constabulary for the use of buck-shot as ammunition, and thus built himself an everlasting name, as "Buckshot Forster."

Parliament was prorogued September 7th, nothing of importance having been done toward the settlement of this vexed question. But the Land Leaguers were not silenced. The tenants were advised to form a sort of protective union, for the purpose of opposing a passive resistance to evictions, and also to the exaction of an unjust amount of rent over the valuation authorized by the Parliament of 1824, and finally made in 1852.

The leaders of the Land League were anxious to avoid all violation of the law; and hence a strictly legal mode of freezing out the obnoxious landlords and agents was resorted to. This was called, from the name of the first victim, "Boycotting;" and was an ingenious means of evading the letter of the law, worthy of an Irishman's quick wit.

Still there were outrages, though the Land League claimed that it did all in its power to prevent them. "While we abuse coercion, we must not be guilty of coercion," was the principle which Davitt and his associates constantly enunciated; but there was much for which the Government held them responsible; and the trouble culminated in a State prosecution of fifteen prominent members of the society, among whom Messrs. Parnell, Dillon, Sexton, Sullivan and Biggar, all members of Parliament, were of course included. The charge was seditious conspiracy, but the jury was unable to agree, and the trial came to nothing.

At the end of the session of 1880, Mr. Forster had said that the Government would introduce an Irish Land Bill and a Coercion Bill the next session. He intimated that coercion would precede legislation on the land question. The Irish members were hardly surprised then, when at the opening of the session of 1881, the Queen's speech declared that the multiplication of agrarian crimes,

and the insecurity of life and property in Ireland demanded coercive measures. On the other hand it was admitted that the condition of Ireland called for an extension of the Land Act of 1870.

Monday, January 24th, Mr. Forster introduced his first coercion measure. Liberals and Conservatives alike looked at his statistics of outrages perpetrated in Ireland with horror, until Mr. Labouchere showed that in most cases one outrage was made to stand for several, by multiplying it by the number of men concerned with it. This somewhat weakened the force of the argument based on the statistics, but Mr. Forster did not look upon it in that light. The bill gave the Lord Lieutenant the power of arresting any one who was suspected of treasonable practices, and the commission of crimes of intimidation, or incitement thereto. It was an *ex-post facto* law, as it did not limit the arrest to those who had offended after the passage of the bill.

On the day after the introduction of this bill, Mr. Gladstone moved to declare urgency for the coercion bills, and thus give them precedence over all other business. Then ensued a series of sittings without precedent in the history of Parliament. The first sitting of the House at which this was the business of the hour was prolonged, not only all night, but until two o'clock the next afternoon. The debate was resumed on Thursday, with a speech from Mr. Bright. The Radical of the old school had long been regarded as a friend to Home Rule, and it had been confidently asserted that the silence which he had hitherto preserved upon this all-absorbing topic was due to his disapproval of the course which his colleagues were pursuing. But if this opinion really obtained, it was most effectually dissipated by this speech. The Land League had been compared to the anti-Corn Law League, and the impression that Mr. Bright was a devoted friend of the Irish was perhaps due in no small degree to this comparison. But now he angrily denied the parallel, and with more than his usual vehemence literally flung himself upon the Irish party. The Irish national press was exasperated to find Mr. Bright thus decisively arrayed upon the side of their enemies; he was the last link that had bound the extreme Irish party to the Government; and now that had been snapped.

But Mr. Bright's speech, eloquent as it was in its fierce denun-

ciations of the Land Leaguers, was completely overshadowed by one from Mr. Gladstone the next day, upon the same subject. His speech was a justification of coercion in the disorganized condition of Ireland, and a bitter denunciation of many of the speeches which had been made by Mr. Parnell and Mr. Biggar. The fierceness of his attack had had no precedent since the time when he had defended the monarchy against the republicanism of Sir Charles Dilke.

“Passion is the spell which most surely unlocks Mr. Gladstone’s skill as an orator of attack. The fury of his indignation swept over the House and stirred it to its depths, arousing tumultuous enthusiasm in the majority of his hearers, and angry protest from the minority he was assailing. The pale, unmoved face of Mr. Parnell occasionally showed through the storm as he rose to correct the Prime Minister in his quotations from his speeches, and was howled and shouted, if not into silence, at least into being inaudible.”

Such is the description of an eye-witness, who was certainly not unfavorable to Parnell. But the House was not to be swept along on this tide of fiery eloquence. There were breakers ahead, in the obstruction policy of the Irish members; the members of the Government sat in their places; some doggedly defiant of these efforts, some appearing to be extremely depressed because the measure was not carried through with a rush. Entirely different was the attitude of the Opposition during this prolonged sitting; what was death to the frogs in the fable was fun for the boys; and the members of that party whose Irish policy had been so severely condemned by the party in power, and who were promised that they should see how speedily the Irish difficulties would be settled by the Liberals, enjoyed themselves immensely during this exciting debate.

Finally the Speaker proceeded to put the main question. An Irish member rose; the Speaker refused to hear him. Then there arose a cry which had not been heard in the House of Commons since 1642, when Charles I. suddenly appeared in its sacred precincts and demanded that the members whom he accused of high treason should be delivered up to him. “Privilege, Privilege!” shouted the whole Irish party, leaping to their feet as one man.

Then, bowing to the Chair, they marched out of the House in the same unbroken phalanx.

Thus ended a scene without parallel in Parliamentary history. The long sitting was the first actual triumph of obstruction, which had often delayed business, but which had never before revolutionized parliamentary law and precedent. The occasion was full of weird interest, and was chiefly remarkable for the daring audacity of the principal actors in it.

Again and again did the Irish patriots move that the House adjourn, that progress be reported, that the Speaker leave the chair, and a variety of similar motions. Again and again did the sonorous voice of Mr. Biggar break the stillness of the air with his peculiarly pronounced "Misthur Spaker, Sur-r-r." Under cover of motions to adjourn, the whole question was re-opened, until, on the morning of the second day, it was discovered that one of the solid gang had not addressed himself to the bill itself. Up rose this zealous patriot, and when it was found he insisted on reading the measure, clause by clause, a groan escaped from a score of lips.

When the lights were put out at daybreak on Tuesday, the appearance of the House was miserable. The usual sweeping and cleaning had been impossible, and the floor was strewn with rubbish of all kinds, torn newspapers, and even pieces of orange peel abounding in every direction. Then the Liberals commenced going home to sleep in sections, and every few hours a score or two members would appear clothed and in their right minds, to replace an equal number of dirty and sleepy legislators, who in turn went home to recuperate.

For the nonce all party feeling was forgotten, and the Opposition loyally supported the Government in its attempt to silence Irish protests and Irish demands for justice. Sir Stafford Northcote personally appealed to Mr. Gladstone to go home and sleep, pledging himself to remain in his absence and "keep a House."

Of ludicrous incidents there were several. It is "strictly out of order" for members or strangers to bring refreshments on to the floor of the House. This rule did not hurt the English and Scotch members, who could easily get away to eat; but it was not so with the Irish, who ate sandwiches and drank out of flasks to their heart's content. Among the lunch eaters was an Irish obstruc-

tionist whose reputation as a drinker of whiskey exceeded his eloquence. Mr. Wharton called the Speaker's attention to the fact that this gentleman was eating and drinking, whereupon the wine-bibber proceeded to stand up and empty his flask in face of the Speaker's studied rebuke.

The bill was immediately brought in, and the first reading carried. The House adjourned till noon of the same day, this single sitting having lasted about forty-one hours, and being the longest then on record. The Irish members thought better of it when the time came for re-assembling, and were promptly on hand to criticise the action of the Speaker in thus bringing the debate to a close upon his own motion.

The Speaker ruled that it was not a question of privilege; whereupon an Irish member moved the adjournment of the House, and the debate on that question was kept up until nearly six o'clock, when, upon division, it was found that but forty-four members out of more than three hundred were in favor of it. As it was six o'clock by the time that the result of the division was announced, and the day was Wednesday, the House was obliged, by its own rules, to adjourn.

The Irish were resisting with all their might. They could only hope to weary out the Government, and thus obtain some concessions. If the ministry would not pass a law for the relief of Ireland, they should not pass one for her oppression. So they reasoned; and the members who sat on the right hand of the Speaker were doubtful as to the result, until their chief found a way out of the difficulty. The obstruction policy of the very small Irish party must be the excuse for the revival of rules which had been allowed to sink into oblivion. The Irish had brought the cry of "Privilege" from the echoing chambers of the past; and they were silenced with thunders from the same stormy region.

When question time came on Thursday, Mr. Parnell suddenly asked if it were true that Mr. Davitt had been arrested. The Home Secretary answered that he had; whereupon the wildest cheering ensued; when the noise subsided, Sir William Harcourt went on to state that the Irish Secretary and he, after due consultation with their colleagues and the legal advisers of the Government, had decided that Mr. Davitt had violated the conditions of

his ticket-of-leave. Mr. Parnell tried to ascertain what conditions had been broken, but the Speaker decided that Mr. Gladstone, who was waiting with his Urgency Motion, had the floor. Mr. Dillon arose to a point of order, but was not allowed to state it.

Amid much noise from all parts of the House, the Speaker declared that Mr. Gladstone was entitled to be heard. Mr. Dillon did not sit down when the Speaker rose, but remained defiantly standing facing him ; he demanded his privilege of speech. In the noise which ensued there were few or no members silent. The Irish members shouted vociferously, "Point of Order!" The other members, with more volume of voice, but with no more vehemence, demanded that Mr. Dillon should be named by the Speaker. This last demand was the one with which the Speaker complied, the offense which was thus punished being Mr. Dillon's defiance of the rules by remaining on his feet after the Speaker had risen. In view of the somewhat frequent use of this means of discipline of late years, we may here remark that the last member "named," prior to Mr. Dillon on this occasion, was Fergus O'Connor, who, in the heat of debate, had struck the member sitting beside him in 1848.

Mr. Dillon was silenced for the time ; and the Prime Minister at once moved that he be suspended from the service of the House for the remainder of the sitting. This was carried by an immense majority, and the speaker called upon Mr. Dillon to withdraw. He began to speak, but there was such confusion that nothing could be distinguished ; finally, the Sergeant-at-Arms approached him, accompanied by several attendants, and Mr. Dillon left the House.

After the excitement had somewhat lessened, Mr. Gladstone made another effort to go on with his speech, but was interrupted by several Irish members, chief among whom was Mr. Parnell, who moved that Mr. Gladstone be no longer heard. The Speaker declined to recognize the member for Cork ; the member from Cork declined in effect to recognize the Speaker, since he refused to sit down. This was the very offense for which Mr. Dillon had just been expelled, and a similar fate awaited Mr. Parnell. Thirty-three members had voted against the expulsion of Mr. Dillon ; there were but seven in the minority when Mr. Gladstone proposed

a similar course with regard to Mr. Parnell. The Irish members remained in their seats, refusing to vote when the division was called for.

It was not without reason that they complained of the treatment which they had received. This was indeed an antiquated mode of procedure, to demand that a Speaker be no longer heard; but Mr. Parnell would hardly have made use of it had not the Prime Minister himself done so in the first place. It was simply a turning of his own weapon against him, though the majority decided that the Premier might use arms which were not permitted to others.

Mr. Gladstone, who was literally speaking under difficulties, was again interrupted by an Irish member, Mr. Finigan, and there was a repetition of the little comedy which had been twice before performed before the House. There were twenty-eight members of the Irish party remaining, and the Speaker having called the attention of the House to their refusal to vote, named them one after another. Mr. Gladstone moved their expulsion in a body; it was carried with but six dissenting voices.

Then ensued a scene which was ludicrous in its monotony. Each member as he was named, rose and made a speech protesting against the action of the Government, and declining to obey the order to leave unless compelled to do so; the sergeant at arms would solemnly approach him with his attendants at his heels; touch him on the shoulder without saying a word. In most cases the member obeyed this mute summons; but in some cases they refused to do so until a sufficient number of attendants had been brought to show that resistance was absolutely hopeless.

Mr. Gladstone again rose and tried to go on with his motion, but it was not to be as yet. Some of the Irish party who had not been in the House while this was taking place now returned, and tried the same tactics. It was necessary to suspend six of these before he was at last permitted to proceed.

Steps were at once taken to amend the rules of the House in such manner that the obstruction policy could not be used to such an advantage. A fall upon the ice having confined Mr. Gladstone to his house for a few days, the final passage of the bill took place in his absence, February 27th, Lord Hartington moved that the



debate on the bill, which was at that time in committee, and about to be reported, should end at seven the next day. Any amendments which were unreported upon at that time were to be denied consideration. This motion, which did not admit of being discussed, was carried, and the Speaker promptly cut the debate short at the hour named. The Coercion Bill was carried with but thirty-six negatives in the Commons, and passing rapidly through all its stages in the House of Lords, became a law March 2d.

The long promised Land Bill was introduced April 7th. It was supposed to be based upon the reports of two Commissions which had been appointed, one by the late and one by the existing Government, for the purpose of investigating the land question in Ireland. The number of reports presented by these two Commissions seems to have been limited only by the number of gentlemen who had been appointed to investigate the subject; but with one exception they agreed that there ought to be a court which should decide between landlord and tenant when they differed with regard to rent.

Fair rent, Fixity of Tenure, and Free Sale—the three F's, as they were called—were the main objects of the Bill; and the vexed question of peasant proprietary was not omitted. It was a moderate measure; and if it should prove practicable, the Government hoped that the condition of the Irish would be greatly ameliorated by its action.

It was bitterly opposed by the Conservatives, who characterized it as communistic, revolutionary, socialistic, and by any other epithets that appeared sufficiently condemnatory. The Irish members, perhaps, were astonished at the introduction of such a measure by the Government; but although it was more than they had hoped for, it was less than they wished. They set themselves to work to widen its scope, and in this they were fairly successful. It was not finally presented to the House until the end of July, when it passed the third reading.

The Bill was then sent up to the Lords. If the Irish members had done their best to obstruct the Coercion Bill, the Lords were equally unreasonable with regard to the Land Bill. It was amended so that it was hardly recognizable, and the Peers, flattering themselves that they had done great things, passed it in its altered form, and it went again to the Commons.

The Commons declined to accept the changes, and sent it back to the Lords. The Lords made new amendments, and sent it down to the Commons again. The ministry made some minor concessions, but declined once more to accept those sweeping changes on which the Peers had insisted. At last the Lords, after all their bluster, yielded some points, and the Land Bill of 1881 became law.

In the meantime Mr. Bradlaugh's seat had been formally declared vacant, and a writ for a new election issued. He was again elected, and the old trouble began afresh. The Government held to the opinion that the House could not interfere when a duly elected member presented himself to take the oath, as Mr. Bradlaugh now did; and the Opposition having carried a resolution affirming that Mr. Bradlaugh should not be permitted to repeat the oath, which he regarded as a mere, meaningless, empty ceremony, Mr. Gladstone informed them, in answer to their inquiries, that it was their business to carry out that resolution, against which he had voted.

The government promised to deal with the question in the usual way, and the Parliamentary Oaths Bill was brought in; but it was finally decided that it would be impossible to proceed with it, and the matter was allowed to lie over until the next session. The disturbance excited by Mr. Bradlaugh's persistency in urging his claims to a seat therefore continued until nearly the time for prorogation.

Cobden, speaking to a friend of Disraeli and his brilliant career, had asked, "How will it be with him when all is retrospect?" That solemn question, like an echo of the archangel's blast, now was brought to the minds of men. On the 19th of April, 1881, all became retrospect with the great Tory statesman. The long, long rivalry was ended, and Mr. Gladstone was left without a peer in the ranks of living Englishmen.

After the passage of a number of measures of special importance only in a local or temporary sense, the stormy session came to a close. Up to its end the Government had not shown any special animosity to the Irish members, and seemed disposed to treat the Land Leaguers in general with more lenity than ever. This was evidenced by the release of Father Sheehy, who had been imprisoned as an agitator. But the advocates of Irish freedom

from British rule continued their self-appointed task, and the patience of the Ministry was finally worn out. Mr. Gladstone spoke at Leeds on the 7th of October, in reply to an address from the Mayor and Town Council. His speech touched upon the all-absorbing Irish Question; and as he warmed to the work, he spoke of Mr. Parnell in such terms that he was accused of a bitter, personal attack. The extreme views of the Parnellites were compared unfavorably with those of the men of the 1848 school, and even with those of the moderate men of to-day, like Mr. Dillon. Mr. Parnell promptly replied to these strictures, and Mr. Dillon refused to accept Mr. Gladstone's compliment. One speech followed another from the lips of the incensed Irishmen, and the Government finally issued warrants for the arrest of the prominent Land Leaguers.

This was announced by the Prime Minister in a most dramatically effective manner. In the midst of an address to a crowded assembly at Guildhall, he made an eloquent plea for the preservation of law and order. Suddenly he produced a telegram, announcing that the Land League leaders had been arrested and conveyed to jail. The effect was marvellous. Friends and foes strove to outdo each other in their wild applause.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SECOND GLADSTONE MINISTRY.

(CONTINUED.)

Mr. Bradlaugh Once More—Home Rule—The Lords and the Land Act—Amendment of the Rules—Arrears Bill—Concessions to the Irish—Phoenix Park Murders—Crimes Bill—Obstruction—Friends Failing—The Egyptian Question—Bombardment of Alexandria—Autumn Session—Forster's Attack on Gladstone—The Reply—Explosives Bill—And Still, Mr. Bradlaugh—Minor Legislation—The Soudan Difficulties—Irrepressible Mr. Bradlaugh—The Egyptian Trouble Continues—The Afghan Boundary—Failure of the Soudan War—The Budget—A Sleepy Time—Waking Up—A Remarkable Speech—A Great Surprise—Fall of the Ministry.

PARLIAMENT opened February 7, 1882. The chief topic of discussion, always excepting the omnipresent Irish Question, was the amendment of the rules. This had been intrusted to a committee the year before, and was expected to come up before the House very early in the session. The subject was of special interest, because, upon the passage of a rule which would render obstruction more difficult, the Irish Question could be more speedily discussed, if not more easily settled; and the reforms in this direction had gone just far enough to make the oppressed more eagerly desirous of aid.

But the first question which came before the House was the Bradlaugh difficulty. Mr. Bradlaugh had been excluded from the House the year before by a sessional order, which, of course, remained in force only until the prorogation. On the demand of his rights, Mr. Gladstone expressed the opinion that the courts of law were the only authority competent to deal with the question; but the matter was otherwise decided by the House of Commons, and Mr. Bradlaugh was once more directed to withdraw. Mr. Labouchere having moved for a new writ for Northampton, the motion was negatived by a large majority.

Thereupon Mr. Bradlaugh, advancing from the seat which he had been occupying, and which was not in the technical limits of the House, drew a New Testament from his coat-pocket and gravely

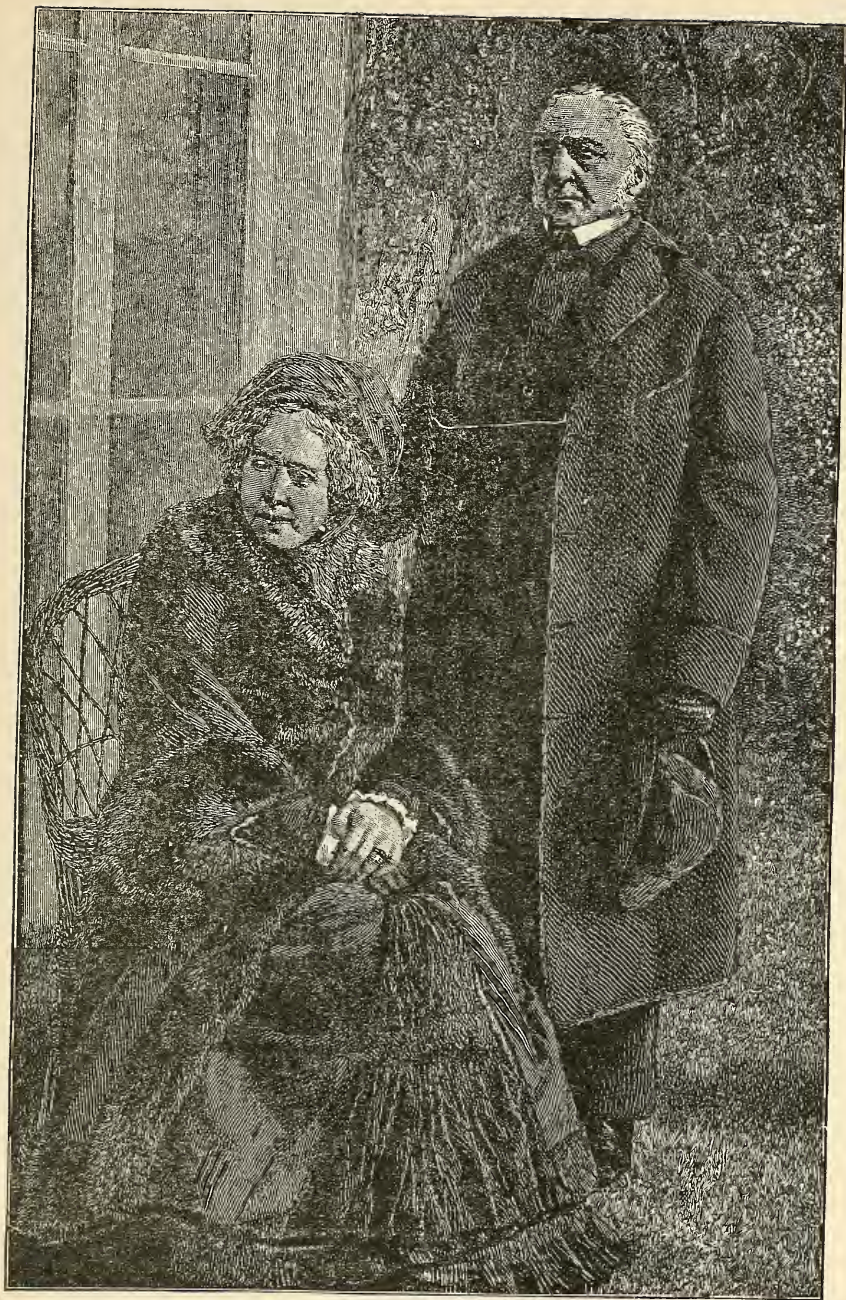
proceeded to swear himself in as a Member of Parliament. This done, he produced a paper stating that he had duly taken the oath, signed it and laid it upon the table. The House was literally struck dumb by this performance, and only began to recover itself as Mr. Bradlaugh concluded the extraordinary ceremony.

Then there was "confusion worse confounded." Lord Randolph Churchill led the argument, and when that has been said the aggressive nature of it may be inferred. But the law-officers of the Crown could not decide that Mr. Bradlaugh had really violated any statute, and Mr. Gladstone succeeded in postponing the consideration of the question until the next day.

The wrangle thus delayed ended in the expulsion of Mr. Bradlaugh, the issuing of a new writ, and the re-election of Mr. Bradlaugh. This had come to be quite the recognized order of things; but there was a slight change in what followed. Mr. Labouchere having proposed that Mr. Bradlaugh should be heard in his own behalf, instead of addressing the Commons from below the bar, as usual, that gentleman boldly advanced to the sacred precincts of the House itself, and, taking a seat below the gangway, proceeded to argue the point with the Speaker as a member of the House of Commons. He was expelled by a vote of 297 to 80; a new writ was immediately granted, and Mr. Bradlaugh was again re-elected.

A resolution of Sir Stafford Northcote, carried by a majority of fifteen, affirmed the sessional resolution, and forbade him to take the oath. The strife extended to the House of Lords, where there was a bill brought in to exclude all atheists from Parliament, succeeded, when it was lost, by an Affirmation Bill, which shared the same fate. The Government arrived at an understanding with Mr. Bradlaugh, by which he was to be permitted to occupy a seat on one of the benches, on condition that he did not join in the debates, and did nothing to disturb the House.

The Irish Question had been broached during the debate upon the Address, but had not been discussed in any other form. But this debate is not without interest, since it disproves the assertions which have sometimes been made, that the alliance of Mr. Gladstone with Mr. Parnell was merely a device to regain power by the aid of the Irish vote. If, in the height of his career as Prime Minister for the second time, he began to advocate Home Rule, it



Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone in 1883.

is clear that it could not have been a sudden change, made for any sinister motive.

It was quite characteristic of the man, whose whole political life was signalized by gradual growth from extreme Toryism to extreme Liberal views. Had it been possible for Gladstone to have lived ten years longer, in the full possession of his mental and physical powers, it is not improbable that he would have come to uphold those very principles which he had so severely condemned when answering Sir Charles Dilke's speech on Republicanism. The change would have been no greater than others which took place in his life.

Mr. P. J. Smyth had moved an amendment supporting a restoration of the Irish Parliament, but this had been lost after he offered to withdraw it. Mr. Gladstone had spoken upon the subject, and, in a later stage of the controversy, he was called to account for this speech. The Irish members themselves demanded the explanation, some passages seeming to indicate that he was not averse to Home Rule. Mr. Gladstone replied that he had always considered that a demand for the local government of Ireland was not too dangerous to be considered, as it was rated by the Conservatives; but up to this time no case, which combined a proper formulation of the Irish claims with a due regard for the supremacy of the British Crown, had ever been submitted to the Government.

Such cautious admissions meant that the time would come when Gladstone would advocate Home Rule. The utterances were not so interpreted at the time, for the party most interested scarcely dared to trust such hopes, and the Irish Question was considered of less importance for the present until the working of the new Land Act should be tried, than it had been the previous session.

But to give the new Land Act a fair trial was just what the Tories did not intend to do. It was agitated anew in the quarter whence trouble was least expected—the House of Lords. Many of the peers regretted bitterly that the Land Act had been forced upon them, and they embraced the first opportunity to protest. The Ministry was now embarrassed by the Bradlaugh difficulty. Their action was unpopular with the great majority of people, who looked upon atheistical tendencies with horror.

The landlord party in the House of Lords attacked Mr. Glad-

stone fiercely because of his utterances upon Home Rule, and dwelt with malicious emphasis upon a pamphlet which had recently been reprinted by its author, who had been appointed Secretary to the Irish Land Commission. This pamphlet defended peasant proprietorship, and spoke of the "cause for which Parnell and Dillon and Davitt had labored and suffered." Although the writer resigned his office as soon as the pamphlet became the subject of unfavorable comment, this did not serve to excuse the Government. A motion for a select committee to inquire into the workings of the Land Act was made and carried by a majority of more than forty of the Lords, and in spite of the attitude of the Commons, the committee was appointed.

It must have delighted the soul of Sir Charles Dilke and his co-republicans when the vote concerning Prince Leopold's allowance, in view of his approaching marriage, was announced; for the proposition to increase it from £10,000 to £25,000 was carried against the largest minority that ever opposed a grant to a royal prince.

It was the general opinion among Englishmen that Protection had been dead and buried long ago, but during this session there was an effort made to revive it, under the name of fair trade. The motion for a committee, in the interests of fair trade, to consider the operations of foreign tariffs upon British commerce, was negatived by a vote of 140 to 89.

All this time Mr. Parnell was in prison. It is true that at some time during the month of April he was released on parole, to attend the funeral of a relative, but he was not free to occupy his seat in Parliament. He occupied his time in drafting a bill to meet the difficulty of the arrears of rent, which weighed down the tenant farmers. This Irish Arrears Bill was kindly received by Mr. Gladstone, as an evidence that the Irish members would do their best to make the Land Law of 1881 effective. But this attitude of the head of the Government was not a little puzzling to observers. Would the Ministry accept a measure proposed by a man whom they had imprisoned for his course in this very matter? The thing was so glaringly inconsistent that it was speedily rumored that the Irish policy would immediately be changed.

The prisoners had been privately offered their liberty if they would leave the country, if for ever so short a time; they might

only cross the Channel and return at once ; but to this they would not agree ; they had been imprisoned unjustly, as they considered, and they would make no compromise to secure their release.

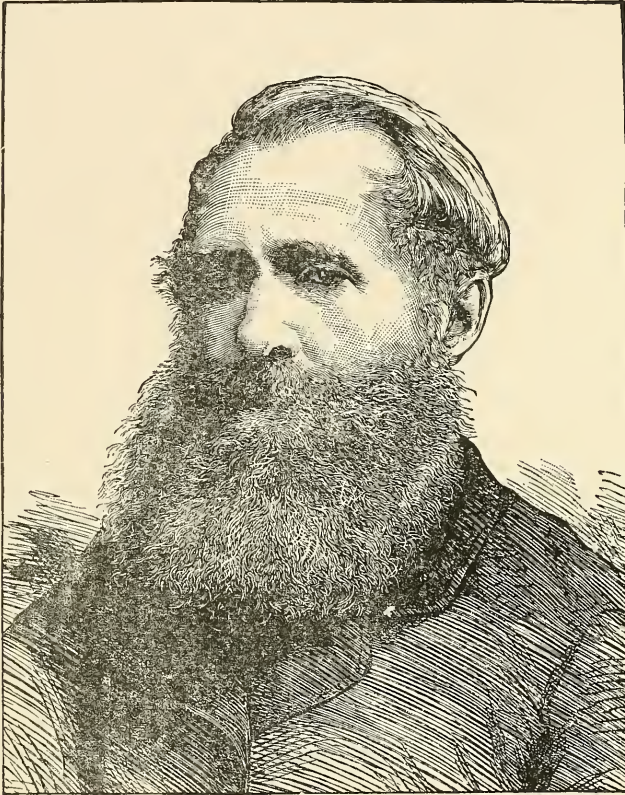
Mr. Gladstone's significant words to which we have before alluded seem to have been prompted by a kindly feeling for Ireland ; he was already progressing toward his later attitude. And here we may add a word regarding this change in opinion. The subject of Irish affairs is one on which the densest ignorance prevails in England, or did prevail until the time of which we write. Mr. Gladstone was no exception to the rule ; he has told us himself that he did not understand the case until the beginning of his second administration, when he set to work to study it more thoroughly than ever before. He had been devoting himself mainly to this subject, and the more he studied it, the more he was convinced that Ireland was the victim of tyranny.

Finally, on May 1st, Lord Salisbury addressed a string of questions to Lord Granville, who was the head of the Government in the House of Lords. In answer to these, Lord Granville announced that Earl Cowper had resigned the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland some weeks ago, but had left it with the Premier to say when it should take effect ; that it had been accepted, and Lord Spencer appointed in his stead. The Government had decided to release the three imprisoned members, and would introduce legislation on the arrears question and the Bright clauses of the Land Act.

An Irishman might say that everything was rose-colored in the Emerald Isle ; it was indeed true that the Irish Question was nearer its solution than it had been for many a day. The Government was favorably disposed, or at least Mr. Gladstone was, and his strong will controlled his subordinates. But from this clear sky fell a thunderbolt.

The announcements thus made, and similar ones in the House of Commons at the same time, were the most important, as indicating a change of ministerial policy, that had been made since Sir Robert Peel informed the House that he had abandoned the principle of Protection ; and they produced a corresponding effect. Of course there was but one line of action for Mr. Forster to follow, his Irish policy had been severely condemned by the colleagues who had thus decided to pursue exactly the opposite course, and he resigned.

This was highly satisfactory to the Irish members, one of whom had said that under the new Government Ireland had suffered from three things—famine, the House of Lords, and Mr. Forster; the speaker and his hearers inclining to the opinion that the last was the worst infliction.



Earl Spencer.

But everything was not lovely as yet. The Opposition demanded to be informed if the withdrawal of the famous No-rent manifesto was a condition of the release of the Irish members. Mr. Gladstone replied that information tendered the Government had justified and mainly prompted their action in releasing the prisoners, and that this was one of the subjects upon which that information had touched. Thereupon Mr. Dillon demanded to know if his

name had been used in connection with the manifesto. Mr. Gladstone replied in the negative. Similar questions were asked by Messrs. O'Kelly and Sexton, all three disclaiming such use of their names, if it had been made; but Mr. Gladstone answered as before. Pressed for a definite reply, he said that the information had been voluntarily given by members of the House, whose duty it was to make explanations when they were present, but he declined to answer further questions on the subject for the present.

This was followed by a speech from Mr. Forster, who desired to explain the reasons for his resignation; and who, in doing this, managed to attack the whole policy of the Government. He was a man who made carelessness an art; even the arrangement of his hair, which had the appearance of never having been combed, was always so exactly the same that its studied effect became evident. His speech on this occasion had the appearance of candor and rugged honesty; but like the disorder of his dress, it was carefully prepared for the occasion.

In answering this speech, Mr. Gladstone assumed a more defiant attitude than on the occasion when he was questioned about the manifesto. After the usual compliments upon a late member of the Government, he regretted that Mr. Forster should have allowed himself to charge the Government with giving the question of the rules precedence over all others, regardless of the condition of Irish affairs. As far as the release of Mr. Parnell and his associates was concerned, the Government was fully responsible for it as for their arrest. There had been no concessions made, because there had been none required.

Mr. Parnell and his friends had not been required to make any statement that their views had changed. The promised arrears bill had nothing to do with their release, for when it was promised the Ministry had not come into possession of the information which prompted their action in this matter. Possessed of this information, it was not possible for Ministers of the Crown to behave as if it had never reached them, and continue the members in their confinement.

This speech was the prelude to a spirited debate, in the course of which the Government was bitterly attacked by the Conservatives, and defended by Lord Hartington and Sir William Harcourt, since

the rules would not permit Mr. Gladstone to speak again on the same subject.

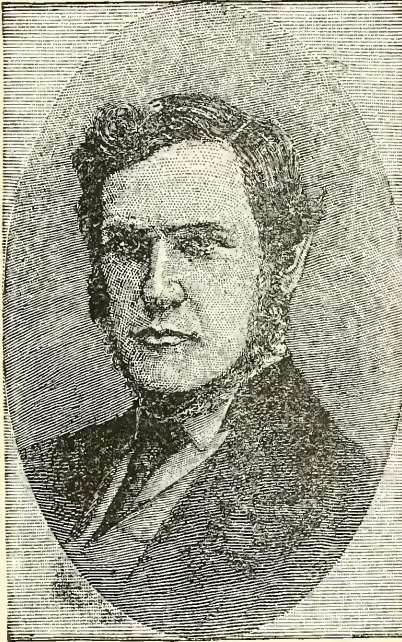
Three days later, the English public—indeed, the reading public of the world—was horrified by an occurrence in Dublin which was speedily told by the wires. The place which Mr. Forster vacated had been filled by the appointment of Lord Frederick Cavendish, a younger son of the Duke of Devonshire, and a brother of the Marquis of Hartington. The new Secretary arrived in Dublin, Saturday, May 6th, and took part in the procession which attended the entry of Lord Spencer. The ceremony over, he took an outside car to drive to his new official residence.

As he drove through Phoenix Park, he overtook Mr. Burke, a Castle official of long standing; and alighted to walk with him. Some bicyclists met the two within a few yards of the monument; going around the monument, these men met an outside car with four men in it driving rapidly away. During the brief interval, Lord Spencer and some of his friends, looking out from the windows of the vice-regal mansion into the moonlighted park, had seen some sort of a scuffle going on in the road, but thought it was only rough horse-play; but it had been the struggle between Cavendish and Burke and their murderers. The assassins had made their escape before any suspicions were aroused; it seemed that the earth had opened and swallowed them up.

The news created the most profound sensation everywhere. Some of the more violent Tories shook their heads and bade their listeners see what came of a promised abolition of coercion; but in general there was no wild howl for revenge upon the Irish people. The Irish parliamentary leaders held a hurried consultation, and most emphatically and publicly condemned the deed of the unknown assassins; solemnly declaring that until the murderers were brought to justice, a stain would rest upon the good name of the Irish people. Public meetings were held at various points in Ireland, and responsibility for the murder, or sympathy with the murderers, solemnly disclaimed.

Up to the date of this murder, it had seemed that Ireland was at last to be governed in accordance with the ideas of her representatives; but the dreadful crime had made that, for the present at least, an impossibility. The very day after the murder took place,

there was a hurried Cabinet meeting, at which it was resolved to abandon the rules for the present, and bring forward bills for amending and extending the Laud and Coercion Acts of the previous session. It was perhaps unfortunate for Ireland at this time that Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Chamberlain would not accept the Secretaryship without a seat in the Cabinet, and this the Government would not consent to; so that Mr. George Otto Trevelyan was appointed to the position.



Hon. Herbert Gladstone.

We may here note that there were several other changes in the Ministry at this time; but the more important ones came later on, when Mr. Gladstone resigned the Chancellorship of the Exchequer to Mr. Childers, Hartington and Kimberley assumed other duties than those for which they had been originally appointed, Lord Derby became Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Bright resigned the post of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Mr. Herbert Gladstone had been appointed to a subordinate post in the summer of the

previous year, and was now advanced to a vacancy in the Treasury. He had been for some years rather a prominent figure in parliament, though so woefully overshadowed by the greatness of his name.

The funeral of Lord Frederick Cavendish took place May 11th, and on the evening of that day the new Crimes Bill was introduced into the House of Commons. This was a measure with which Mr. Gladstone does not seem to have been in full accord; it was one instance in which his dominant will had to give way. It had frequently been remarked that he was the one prominent figure in the

Ministry; it was he who replied to all questions, on all subjects whatever; the special Minister contenting himself with the briefest of answers; but Sir William Harcourt had threatened to resign if the Government would not support his bill; and Mr. Gladstone did not feel his support so certain that he could afford to dispense with so great an ally in debate.

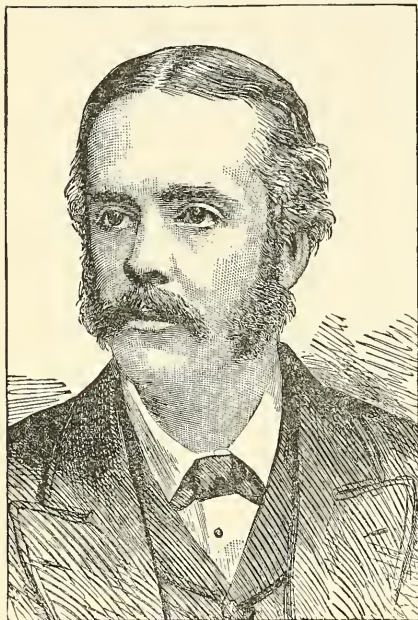
The Whigs were almost mutinous; they had never thoroughly trusted the "Grand Old Man," thinking him, as did the Tories of Oxford, too brilliant to be entirely safe; and the progressiveness of his policy alarmed them; they were not his only foes concealed under the guise of friends; for although Mr. Forster had not gone so far as to take a seat on the Opposition benches he was all but an avowed enemy to the Government.

The Crimes Bill was, to say the least, alarming to the Irish members. Its first provision was for the abolition of trial by jury in certain cases, when it was supposed that jurors would be prevented from returning a condemnatory verdict by intimidation. This was not in itself specially objectionable, for the necessity of it was recognized; but what was strenuously opposed was the inclusion of treason and treason-felony in the list of crimes to be so tried. The danger of such a provision to the Irish members themselves will be readily seen, and the Bill was bitterly opposed.

While the new Bill was still pending, the question of the Kilmainham Treaty, as the agreement by which Mr. Parnell and his colleagues had been released from jail was called, was again brought before the House. After what an Irishman would call "A very pretty quarrel, barring no heads were broken," Mr. Balfour attacked the Government for making a compromise with Mr. Parnell. Mr. Gladstone angrily replied that there was no truth in the assertion which Mr. Balfour had made about the part of the Government. The Kilmainham business was not settled by this debate, but kept cropping up throughout the remainder of the session; though the interest was lessened by the condition of the main Irish Question.

The Irish members obstructed the passage of the Crimes Bill by every means in their power; but so cunningly was their work done that there was no excuse for an "urgency motion," or for other strong measures. The obstruction came to a head on the last

night of June. Early in the afternoon rumors of an all-night sitting began to circulate in the lobbies, and the prediction did not lack fulfillment. It was nine o'clock in the morning when Mr. Playfair rose to warn the House that legislation had been systematically obstructed, and that he should have to indicate the members who were engaged in it. At this warning, those members who had been in other parts of the building came hurrying to the legislative chamber, and there was a good audience when, in accordance with



Hon. Arthur Balfour.

his threat, Mr. Playfair rose to indicate the obstructionists.

Fifteen members were found in the list; but Mr. Childers, whose duty it was, in the absence of Mr. Gladstone, to move their suspension, inserted another; and the motion was carried by a vote of a hundred and twenty-six to twenty-seven. The remaining Irish members, nothing daunted by the fate of their colleagues, carried on the debate with as much vigor as ever, until the suspension of nine more of them rendered it possible to rush the bill through. After a continuous sitting of twenty-

three hours, the committee of the whole was enabled to report progress, and the bill was passed as far as the thirtieth clause.

Mr. Gladstone moved that the business of the House was urgent on the following Tuesday (July 4th); but the haste with which the bill was pushed was not altogether favorable to the Government, for the Irish members who had not been suspended refused to take any further part in the proceedings, and their withdrawal from the House caused the defeat of the Government on one of the amendments; since the Whigs were opposed to any amendment which lessened the stringency, and their defection made the Government

dependent upon the Third Party. There were many prophecies of a change which was supposed to be imminent—either a resignation or an appeal to the country; but Mr. Gladstone explained that the state of Ireland was such that he would not withdraw the bill, nor would he resign.

The bill was finally passed on the 9th, and went up to the Lords. They accorded it a much more gracious reception than they gave to the Arrears Bill, a measure which they sent back to the Commons with several amendments which rendered it practically valueless. It was a direct challenge to the Premier, who very coolly picked up the glove thus arrogantly flung down. He would compromise with the Peers; certainly, but the compromise which he was willing to make consisted in the acceptance of an amendment which did not mean anything, and the rejection of those which did. Lord Salisbury wanted to fight it out, but Mr. Gladstone had the House of Commons at his back, and the House of Lords was by no means ready to follow Lord Salisbury into the battle; so the Peers yielded, and passed the Arrears Bill.

The debate on the Crimes Bill and the difficulty with the Arrears Bill had been such that it was confidently expected that the Government must fall. We have alluded to the stand which the Whigs had taken of late, and have seen that no help was to be expected from those Home Rulers who ordinarily sat on the Liberal side. Mr. Forster was no mean adversary, and many of the Ministry were bitterly angry with Mr. Gladstone for his dominating control of the Government. Mr. Bright was almost the only man of prominence who clung to the Premier with all of his old admiration, which amounted almost to adoration; and the middle of July saw him leave the Ministry. His resignation was forced upon him by the action of the Government with regard to Egypt, it being well known that he could not be a member of any Ministry which was a party to war.

It is time that we should give some attention to this contest in which England was now involved. The financial condition of Egypt was such that the Khedive had requested the intervention of the Powers, and a Ministry has been formed with an Englishman and a Frenchman in it; the latter being appointed solely to satisfy France that England was not seeking any undue advantage. But

there was a National Party in Egypt which resented these appointments very much, and finally succeeded in making its power felt. The Khedive found that he had exchanged masters; for Arabi Bey was the real ruler.

During the first months of 1882 there was indeed a calm, but it was the calm which precedes the storm. The English Government regarded Arabi as simply an adventurer, who was not worth any attention. France and England were both agreed, however, that they would have a hand in the government of Egypt, and Egypt could not defy both. But a change of Ministry in France caused that country to change her policy, and the Egyptian Nationalists saw that this was their opportunity.

In April, 1882, a plot was discovered, so said Arabi's officers, to assassinate that high dignitary. The accused were tried in secret and found guilty of a plot to overthrow both Tewfik and Arabi, and restore Ismail Pasha; but the Khedive refused to sign the decrees of the court. It was hinted that this refusal would cause the massacre of foreigners in Egypt, and the English and French Governments at once ordered their ironclads to Alexandria, the order coupled with a demand that Arabi Pasha, as he was now titled, should be compelled to leave the country, along with his immediate allies.

In the meantime the utmost confusion reigned in Alexandria, where there is a considerable number of European residents. The crisis came June 11; we do not propose to discuss who struck the first blow, for that has never been definitely settled, but there were many people killed, and all the Europeans who could get away did so. The British Government hesitated about landing troops, even after this riot, and much was trusted to diplomacy. But suddenly England, after many endeavors to secure European concert, resolved to act alone. Due notice was given of the proposed interference by arms; but the Egyptians kept on with their fortifications. The French fleet steamed away; the English vessels took up their positions for the siege.

The bombardment continued until a flag of truce was raised; but the admiral had not a sufficient force to occupy the town, and a scene of the wildest confusion ensued. Finally, order was restored by the stern action of the marines, and the Khedive was

escorted back to the city. The action of the English Government was bitterly condemned as inconsistent with the former opposition of the Liberals to war, when the Conservatives had been in power; and the progress of the war during the summer of 1882 was such that their fault was not hidden by their success, as the faults of a Ministry sometimes are.

The health of Mr. Gladstone during these months had been such as to give room for the gravest apprehension. Not only was his physical strength rapidly failing, but it was seriously alleged that his mental powers were giving way. Still, with a dogged persistency, he kept on; and his iron will still made itself felt in the Cabinet.

Parliament was prorogued in August until October 24th. During the recess, the war with Egypt became a little more popular, the battle of Tel-el-Kebir resulting in a victory for the British. This was practically the end of the war, for Arabi was a prisoner; and although there were some positions which the Nationalists still held, it was not long before they surrendered.

The autumn session was for the purpose of considering the new rules which had been set aside when the Phoenix Park murders made coercion the question of the hour. Mr. Gladstone at once made an urgency motion, which was carried without difficulty, and the House adjourned. The debate began again the next day, and was continued with varying interest. The Conservatives had no leader worthy of the name, and the party suffered thereby. Sir Stafford Northcote was nominally the head of the Opposition, but there was no attention whatever paid to his opinions. His mild urbanity was not sufficient to make him a trusted and efficient leader; and the members of his own party, notably of that branch of it which was led by Lord Randolph Churchill, lost no opportunity of displaying their contempt for him.

On the other hand, Mr. Gladstone seemed to have regained all that he seemed on the verge of losing. Richard was himself again, and the Liberals had fresh courage. Said a newspaper writer of the time: "It is marvellous how small need be the occasion to elicit from him a speech which dazzles, amuses, inspires and bewilders the hearer. When poor, dull, shambling Sir Stafford Northcote gets up after one of these displays, the effect is about as

pleasant as the shrill note of a tin whistle after the sublime notes of an organ fugue."

At this time the figure of Gladstone towered higher than ever above the level of the House of Commons. He was without a rival of importance; all his enemies seemed utterly powerless against him; it was Gladstone or utter chaos; and the Tories ground their teeth when they saw that it was so.

If the leader of the Conservatives was like oatmeal porridge, well sweetened, palatable and nutritious, but not in the least stimulating there was one man who aspired to his position who was decidedly champagne. This was Lord Randolph Churchill, whose long-continued contempt for Northcote culminated in an open attack during this autumn session. The Opposition was badly demoralized, and the Government carried its point in regard to the long discussed rules.

Mr. Gladstone's improvement in health had been only temporary, and at the beginning of winter he was advised by his physicians to try the south of France. He had of late been subject to fits of profound depression, and this was regarded as a most ominous symptom. He remained at Cannes all winter, not returning to Parliament until March 10th. It was during his absence that the evidence of Carey regarding the Phoenix Park murders was taken. The prosecution of Messrs. O'Brien, Harrington and others also took place; but these events hardly have a place in the biography of the Premier.

There was very hearty advice tendered him by his colleagues to remain at Cannes until after Easter; but although the mild climate had not done all that it was expected to do, he was unwilling to give more time to the care of his health. The Ministers without Mr. Gladstone were like schoolboys in the absence of their teacher; they enjoyed their liberty exceedingly, and we cannot say that they made good use of it in all respects.

There had been a very distinct announcement that this was not to be an Irish session; but the Parnellites kept hammering away at the Irish Question as if they had heard nothing of the kind. This gave the impression that the Irishmen would break the session, and the session would break Mr. Gladstone,

His critics did not know what a wonderful fund of vitality there was in the man of seventy-three.

But if Mr. Gladstone were hardly equal to any sustained contest, there was no prospect that the Conservatives would be able to force any such upon him. Their ranks appeared to be hopelessly disorganized; Sir Stafford Northcote had added illness to the natural unfitness for his position; and Lord Randolph Churchill and his allies never failed to cast disrespect upon the titular leaders of the party. It was openly said that the young nobleman was but an instrument of his father, the Duke of Marlborough, in the endeavor to make Lord Salisbury the chief of the Conservative party; an effort which was not without success later on.

The Tories, thus disabled from serious combat, adopted the tactics which had been so brilliantly successful under the skillful management of the Irish leader, and became indomitable obstructionists.

If the Conservatives had their worst enemies within their own party the Liberals were hardly more fortunate. Mr. Forster had never recovered his good temper since the Government so emphatically condemned his Irish policy, and the culmination of this ill humor came in a bitter personal attack upon Mr. Gladstone. This was fun for the Tories, who frequently interrupted him by their ecstatic cheers, for his speech was chiefly about the war policy of the Government. This attack was a most successful one, for it had a tremendous effect upon Mr. Gladstone. He was naturally easily affected, and when he arose to reply his frame fairly quivered with his emotions. He slashed at Forster without stint or mercy, calling him "the man of peace who preached war." The storehouse of his scorn was ransacked for expressions suited to the occasion. Meanwhile Mr. Forster sat trembling at the spirit which he had himself invoked; shading his face with his hand he made no sign of reply to the great orator.

The Government found itself involved in difficulties which threatened to be very serious, when the result of the negotiations with M. de Lesseps was announced. That eminent engineer was then advocating the cutting of a second Suez canal, and in this project

the Ministry agreed to help him. But the plan raised opposition at once; not only among the Tories, from whom it was only to be expected, but among many of the Liberals as well. Under such circumstances, the Government quietly withdrew its promises to M. de Lesseps, on the ground that it had acted in the way that it thought would be most acceptable to the country, but the country had emphatically disapproved of that course. The Opposition at one time had an excellent opportunity to defeat the Government upon this measure, but lost it by their bungling. The Government had stood many storms, and was not to fall for two years.

But before this had come up for discussion, there had been a measure forced upon Parliament by the attempt to blow up the public buildings. About the middle of March, there had been an effort directed against the office of the Local Government Board, but beyond the breaking of a great many windows, and the shattering of one wall, there was not much damage done. Other attempts were frustrated by accidents to the infernal machines used, but some were partially successful. Finally, in the first week of April, the police discovered a conspiracy of eight men who were engaged in the importation of the materials for the explosive, and the manufactured article. Their connection with Irish-American advocates of the use of dynamite was clearly proved. To meet such cases the Explosives Bill was introduced into the House of Commons, April 9th, and passed through all its stages within two hours, was sent to the Lords, and became a law at once.

The Bradlaugh question came up again this session. Lord Hartington had announced at the beginning of the session, in answer to a question that the Government intended to bring in a bill affirming that members who objected to the oath should be permitted to affirm; and this bill came up for its second reading early in May. There was a bitter debate, and the defeat of the Government was inevitable; it was thought that the Opposition would have a considerable majority. But the Ministry took care to state that this was a question upon which the House must decide, not a measure which would by its passage or otherwise mean a defeat for the Government.

When, therefore, after a scene of intense excitement, the division was taken, the only thing surprising about the vote was the fact

that the nays had a majority of no more than three. But although the Government had declared that this was not regarded as a vote of confidence, the defeat had its effect upon the minds of men. Difficulties had beset the second Gladstone administration since its very inception; it hung, oftentimes, by a thread which a single vote might snap; and men felt that that thread was worn thinner and thinner by such events as this.

The Egyptian troubles of the Government had not come to an end with the victory of Tel el-Kebir, but were to continue for some time yet under the form of the Soudan difficulties. Briefly stated, the people of the Soudan had revolted against the authority of Egypt, their leader being El Mahdi, or the Prophet, as he was called by his followers. The coming of a prophet who was to perform certain things for the waiting Mussulmans had been foretold, it was said, by the Koran; and this man's career was a fulfillment of the prophecies. Armed with such authority as this claim gave him over the people of this section, he had defied the rule of the Khedive.

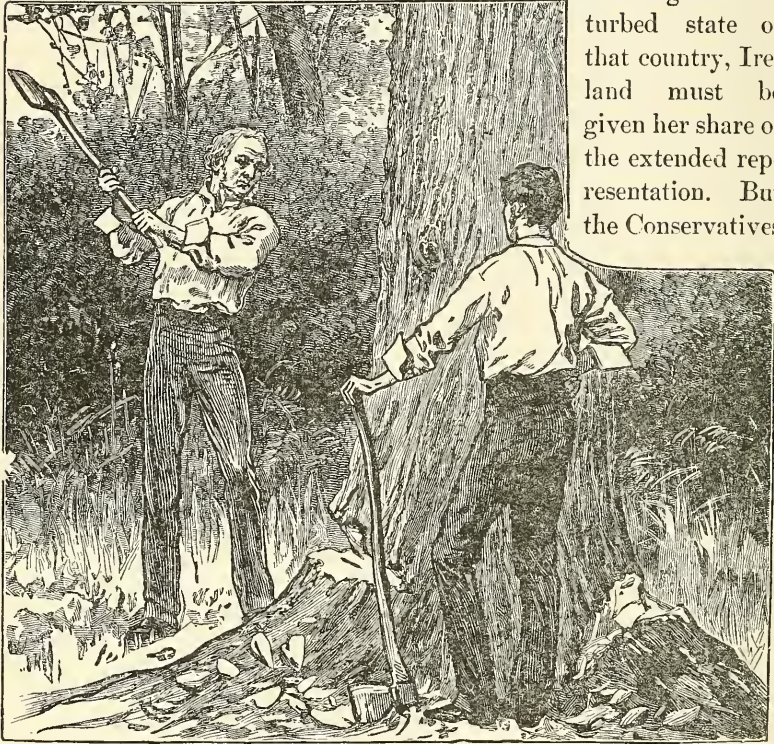
The Soudan was a desolate district, the Government argued, and not worth asserting a claim over; and it was far from certain that the Khedive had any real right to control it. England, therefore, advised Egypt to abandon it, and fix the southern boundary of her possessions considerably to the north of the late position; but there were European residents and garrisons in the disputed territory which she was thus virtually commanded to relinquish, and the safety of these must be cared for. It was to protect these that England was now anxious; and the disasters which, later on, made the name of the Soudan memorable, were directly traceable to this endeavor.

Such was the main question that occupied the minds of the Ministers during the recess. Other threatened troubles there were, in connection with other Powers; Russia appeared to be aiming at more than her due share of Asiatic territory; and France was apparently offending in the same quarter. The Russian advance was considered especially inimical to England, as threatening her overland intercourse with her Indian possessions.

Parliament opened February 5th. Mr. Gladstone was in more robust health than he had been for some time, and had amused

himself during the recess by felling trees, as if it were the midst of summer. It was well that he had this store of strength in reserve, for all of it was to be needed during the coming session.

At the Cabinet meetings preceding the opening of Parliament it was decided to introduce a Reform measure. Such a bill was accordingly considered, and the conclusion arrived at that, notwithstanding the disturbed state of that country, Ireland must be given her share of the extended representation. But the Conservatives



Mr. Gladstone as a Woodman—His Favorite Recreation.

were bitterly opposed to any measure of Reform, considering that the Act passed by the Disraeli Government had been quite liberal enough; and their opposition manifested itself long before the opening of the session. One prominent Conservative declared that the session would begin, continue, and end in a storm.

But the chief difficulty of the Government was in regard to the Egyptian troubles. The problem received its solution, they thought,

when "Chinese" Gordon agreed to undertake the task of pacification. He was appointed for this task in January, and was on his way to the Soudan before the session began. He refused a military escort, believing that it would render his plans futile, and set off across the desert with a mere handful of followers. The character of Gordon has been too often delineated of late years for it to be necessary here to expatiate upon his virtues; and we shall take for granted that our readers are well acquainted with the course of these comparatively recent events, and make only such reference as may be necessary to explain the position of the Gladstone Ministry.

It remains only for us to say, that the course which England had pursued in this matter was unanimously approved by the other nations of Europe; and that while the general anxiety regarding the fate of Gordon was intense, it was felt that he could settle the difficulty, if it were in human power.

The Queen's speech promised a great deal of legislation. It was waively remarked by a journal of the day, that the Ministers seemed to think that Parliament met with the intention of transacting business. It was announced that there would be a Bill for the Extension of the Franchise, which would apply to Ireland as well as to the sister kingdoms; that the extension and reform of local government would be considered; that it was proposed to extend municipal government to the whole of the metropolis; and many minor reforms were promised.

The Houses had hardly met before the Egyptian troubles came up for discussion. An amendment to the address, censuring the Government for its course in this matter, was presented; but although there were but ninety-seven members present when the division was taken, the Ministry had a majority of fifty-five. The vote was the more favorable, because of the disaster to Baker Pasha's force for the relief of Tokar. But this was not the last of the subject.

A week after Parliament met, there was a vote of censure proposed in both Houses. This, of itself, indicated the growing confidence of the Conservatives, since the proposing such a vote, when there was small prospect of carrying it through, was a great mistake. In the House of Lords the vote was carried by a majority of one

hundred, after a very brief debate ; but the Commons had more to say about it.

The Premier defended his course in a speech which was remarkably eloquent even for him. The troubles had grown directly out of the Dual Control, a system which had been the result of Conservative ingenuity when that party held the reigns of power, and for which the Liberal Government could not therefore be held fairly responsible. He was ably seconded by other members of the Ministry ; indeed, the Liberals had by far the best of the argument, and as the Irish members had promised to hold aloof from the question, a considerable majority was hoped for. But the Parnellites reconsidered this pledge, and finally followed the Conservatives into the lobby. The debate had lasted a week, and resulted in a majority for the Government of forty-nine.

This result was without doubt brought about by the success for the time being of the Government's policy ; had the fortunes of war been less favorable, the majority might have been on the other side.

During the time that the vote of censure was still pending, Mr. Bradlaugh showed himself as irrepressible as ever ; but being excluded from the House, he applied for the Chiltern Hundreds, an office without pay or duties, but appointment to which is incompatible with membership of Parliament ; as the latter is an honor which cannot be resigned, a British legislator who desires to retire applies for this post, forfeits his seat, and resigns the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds at once, that it may be vacant and waiting for the next applicant. Mr. Bradlaugh, having gone through this little ceremony, the Government went through that other little ceremony of issuing a new writ for Northampton, and Mr. Bradlaugh went through the third ceremony of being elected.

The two Houses of Parliament may be said (somewhat irreverently) to resemble that little girl Longfellow tells of, who,

“ When she was good, she was very good indeed,
But when she was bad she was horrid.”

They showed themselves very good indeed over the question of erecting better dwellings for the poor in the great centres of population ; and there was quite a remarkable case of party union.

In the meantime the Egyptian question had raised its head again,

and was spitting fire at the Ministry. In a debate which took place at the beginning of April, Mr. Gladstone inveighed bitterly against the opposition's constant harping on this subject; seventeen nights, he said, had been spent in fruitless discussion of the Soudan question, and the Ministry had been much embarrassed by this course.



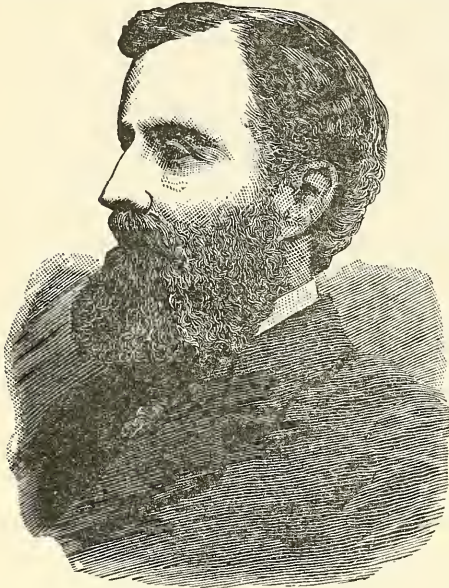
General (Chinese) Gordon.

Mr. Gladstone, it was said, had "rarely, if ever surpassed, this remarkable philippic for energy or earnestness." The Government was sustained by the testimony of Gordon himself at this time, as communication with Khartoum had not yet been interrupted, and dispatches were frequently received from him, stating that he was entirely safe, and had much hope of the success of his mission.

A little later, however, the dispatches assumed a less confident

tone, and the Government determined to send an expedition to rescue the popular hero. This determination was perhaps the result of Mr. Gladstone's restoration to health; as there was a perceptible difference in the vigor of the Government's Egyptian policy during his prostration and after his return to the active conduct of affairs.

But the Conservatives were not deterred from their attack. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach replied to Mr. Gladstone's speech a few days later, by moving a vote of censure upon the Government's Egyp-



Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.

tian policy; a vote of censure had come to be quite the usual thing at this time. Mr. Gladstone's impassioned speech during this debate pledged the Government to secure Gordon's personal safety, if such a thing were within human power. The debate was a warm one, and included a bitter personal attack upon the Premier by his pretended ally and late colleague, Mr. Forster; who was answered by Lord Hartington, since the rules of the House did not allow Mr. Gladstone to speak

the second time on the question then before it.

There was considerable anxiety to know what would be the course of the Parnellites upon this occasion. They remained stubbornly in their seats as the Liberals and Conservatives filed out to the lobbies; then rising at last followed the Opposition. Notwithstanding this adverse vote, the motion was lost by a majority of twenty-eight; and the members of the Government party went home triumphant through the gray of that early May morning. The Government had certainly lost prestige, but it was equally certain that the Opposition had not gained any.

Prorogued in August, Parliament did not meet again until

October 24th. In the meantime, Mr. Gladstone had paid a visit to his Scotch constituents and their neighbors, and been received with an enthusiasm which made amends for much that was unpleasant in his parliamentary life. His passage through the crowded streets of Aberdeen was a veritable triumphal progress.

Parliament adjourned over the Christmas holidays, not meeting again until February 19th.

The debate upon the Address furnished an opportunity to Lord Salisbury to attack the Government on the old question of the Soudan troubles; Sir Stafford Northcote also proposed a vote of censure in the lower House. Mr. Gladstone, who had looked careworn and pale at the opening of the session, was more like himself when the resolution came up for debate, and addressed the House with his usual vigor. After a thrilling eulogium of Gordon, he asserted that the policy which the Government had pursued had maintained the safety of Egypt, and had checked the progress of the slave trade. It should be noted that while the Opposition never lost an opportunity of attacking the Egyptian policy of the Government, the Conservatives appeared to have no other course to recommend; they did not know just how to do it, excepting that they did not like the Government's way.

Another difficulty had arisen in the Russian advance in Central Asia. Russia seemed to be the embodiment to the British mind of all that is selfishly ambitious, and every movement was watched with a distrustful jealousy. The English had had more trouble with Afghanistan than it was well worth, but they were willing to take much more rather than see their overland path to India barred by Russian encroachments. Mr. Gladstone, however, was in hopes that the troubles would be satisfactorily settled by negotiations which were in progress, but it proved that he was too sanguine.

The Russian Government continued to disown the acts of its agents and to promise to give instructions that would prevent further difficulties; but the agents were evidently not advised that they were acting contrary to the Government's wishes, and the instructions were never given. War was therefore imminent, and the Government asked for a war vote of £11,000,000. This was not to be applied exclusively to military uses in Afghanistan, but might also be applied toward the expenses of operations in the

Soudan if necessary. To this the Conservatives would not consent ; the Soudan had cost the country enough already, not only in money, but in life ; above all, in the loss of gallant Gordon, whose death had saddened many a heart in England. Kartoum had fallen, the Soudan expedition was practically a failure, and the Opposition did not believe in sending good money after bad ; if the Government wanted two war votes, let them ask for them separately.

Mr. Gladstone made one of the most remarkable speeches of this Ministry upon the occasion of asking for this vote of credit, and the request of the Government was finally granted. But it proved that the fears of war were not well grounded ; for the resumption of friendly relations was duly chronicled by Mr. Gladstone, whose statement was received with enthusiastic cheers.

The budget was introduced April 30th. Those of the preceding two years had been simple measures ; the most notable provision of that of 1884 being the issuing of ten shilling tokens, worth intrinsically only nine shillings ; the difference between the real and the legal tender value being intended to defray the cost of calling in and recoinng the numerous coins which had become light weight by long wear. Though this plan had received the approbation of many leading economists, it was hotly opposed by Lord Randolph Churchill and some others, and ridiculed by most of the newspapers.

The budget of 1885 was much more complex, dealing with the war vote as it must. The estimated expenditure was £99,872,000, and there was an estimated deficit of £14,912,000. To meet this enormous deficiency, it was proposed to raise the income tax one penny, increase the duty upon spirituous and malt liquors, and raise some other duties of minor importance. The Conservatives opposed these taxes on spirituous and malt liquors, on the ground that there should be a corresponding increase in the tax on wines, but it was not thought that this contest would assume a very serious form.

About the middle of May there were two announcements made, which showed well for the country's prosperity ; the troops were to be finally withdrawn from the Soudan, thus doing away with that source of expense ; and the two governments had agreed as to the Afghan boundary.

On the occasion of the vote upon the Civil Service and Revenue

Departments' Estimate, Lord Randolph Churchill and some others having indulged in frequent interruptions of Mr. Gladstone's speech, the venerable statesman uttered one of the most touching rebukes which the House of Commons has ever heard. It was not that he complained for one whose term of membership in that House might be numbered by days, he said, and must certainly be bounded by months rather than by years, but for the sake of the dignity of the House, he protested against these frequent and un-called-for interruptions. The rebuke seems to have had its desired effect.

The budget came up for final discussion June 7th. The House seemed half asleep. It looked as if there was nothing which could rouse the members on either side to the height of cheering; and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach spoke unaided by signs of sympathy from the Conservatives, uninterrupted by dissenting voices on the Liberal side. Nobody seemed to care whether he spoke or not, and even Mr. Warton, who nearly always caused the House to unbend to merriment, found the members unresponsive. There was no excitement in the lobbies; there was no interest anywhere.

It was after midnight when Mr. Childers concluded his speech, and Mr. Gladstone rose to close the debate. His appearance was not promising; for some time past he had been accustomed to leave the House before this hour, and he looked thoroughly tired out. His voice was feeble, and his manner deprecatory; the House prepared to doze again.

But suddenly he burst into brilliancy. The speech which began thus unpromisingly was the brightest and most vivacious that had been heard from his lips for many a day. There were not wanting those who said that it was the best speech he had ever delivered; but this was perhaps an exaggeration, due to the immense difference between this and the previous efforts of the night. He seemed to court the interruption which he had rebuked a short time before; it only afforded opportunities for him to retaliate upon his enemies.

He was especially strong in his attacks upon Lord Randolph Churchill, and one of his happiest hits was in speaking of the Opposition which "calls itself sometimes Conservative and sometimes the Tory Democracy;" in reply to which Lord Randolph took off

his hat with a bow in ironical acknowledgment. "To sum up, Mr. Gladstone thoroughly enjoyed himself, and the House thoroughly enjoyed Mr. Gladstone." The great speech ended amid the vehement cheers of the Ministry, and the division was taken. There was no hope among the Tories ; the only question was, what would be the Government's majority? And this did not excite any special interest.

The suspicion of the real state of affairs did not begin to dawn upon the Opposition until the division was approaching its end. Then, as they saw that the stream of men going into the Conservative lobby was as full as ever, that going into the other was perceptibly diminishing. Then began the excitement of the night, or rather morning, "What's your number?" was eagerly demanded of each Conservative as he returned to the House, by a score of his eager comrades. At last the teller for the Government was seen approaching the table, and there was an intense stillness until they had heard the number—two hundred and fifty-two. Had the Conservatives beaten this? It was soon known that they had, and then began the uproar.

The most vehement was of course Lord Randolph Churchill. He was like a schoolboy whose club has beaten in a great match. He waved his hat at arm's length, then got upon his seat and waved it over the heads of the excited assemblage. There were others to follow his example, and they cheered until they were hoarse. The Ministry answered by defiant counter-cheers, and the Parnellites took up the cry. "Coercion!" "Buckshot!" "Spencer!" they shouted, forgetful of all that had been done for them by this Government.

There were but two men in the House who were entirely silent. One of these sat among his handful of followers, a happy smile upon his pale face, but his habitual self-control strong now as ever ; he was Charles Stuart Parnell. The other sat with his portfolio on his knees, writing as composedly as the reporters in the gallery above the account of the fall of his Ministry.

At last the numbers were told, and the House was reduced to some sort of order. Then the man who had been thus coolly writing arose. There was a burst of enthusiastic cheers from his followers, answered by loud shouts of triumph from the other side.

For a moment it seemed as if he would not be heard at all ; but he stood calmly waiting for quiet, now and then dotting an *i* or crossing a *t* in his dispatch. At last he made his voice heard ; he simply moved an adjournment.

The House began to empty at once. The Conservatives went home to dream of the success which they had so unexpectedly achieved ; the Liberals to brood over their equally unexpected defeat. It seems strange that a Government whose fall had been predicted so many times should at last succumb when it was thought to be strong ; after tottering so many times from its inception, its final fall was a surprise to all.

CHAPTER XV.

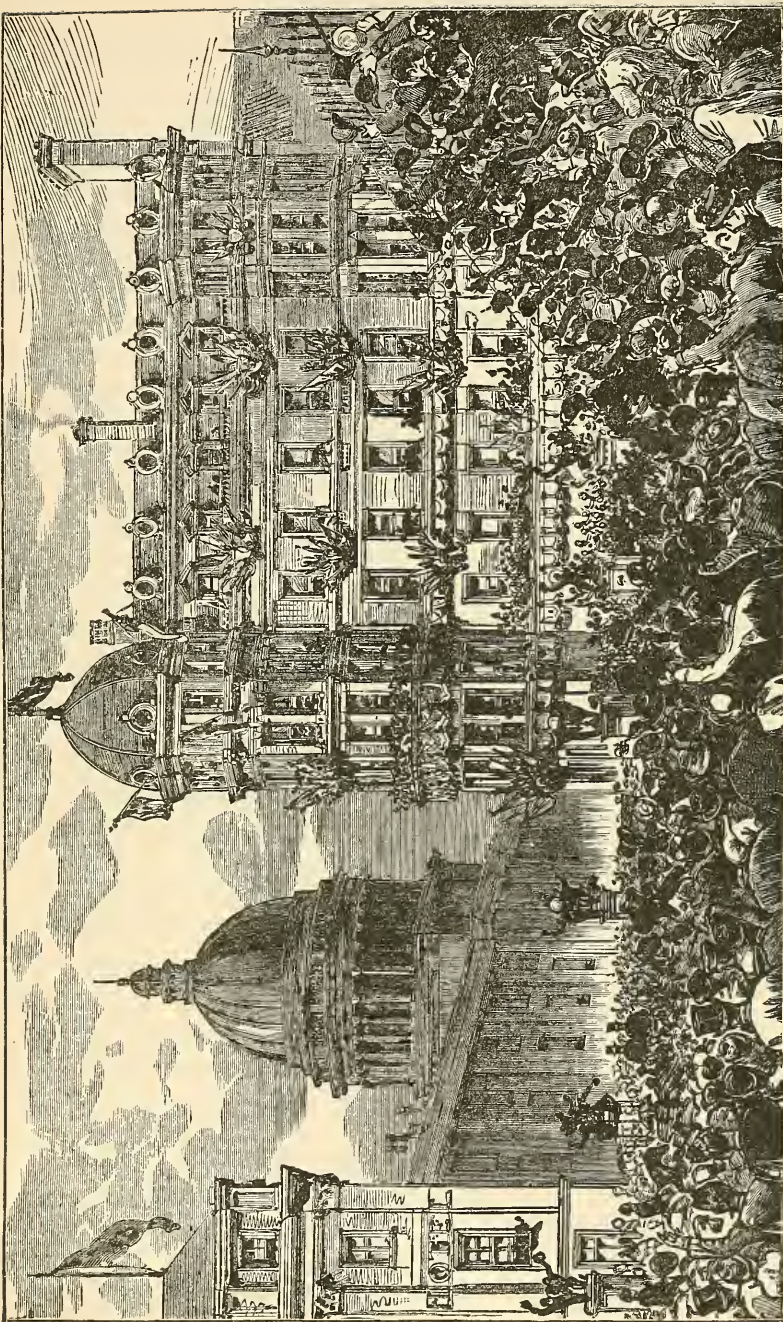
THIRD AND FOURTH ADMINISTRATIONS.

Mr. Gladstone Again in Scotland—Lord Salisbury on Public Questions—Result of the Elections—Third Gladstone Ministry—Advocates Giving Ireland the Right to Make Her Own Laws—Irish Land Purchase Bill—Second Reading of Irish Home Rule Bill—Eloquent Appeal on Behalf of Ireland—Irish Bills Condemned by John Bright—Rupture Between the Two Great Leaders—General Election of 1886—Defeat of the Liberals—Policy of Coercion—Action of the Tory Government—The Premier's Retirement—Lord Rosebery Successor to Mr. Gladstone.

THE first general election under the new Reform Act was held in November, 1885. Mr. Gladstone again appeared before his Midlothian constituents, and, although nearly seventy-six years of age, spoke with an energy and force far beyond all his contemporaries. By his attitude on the Disestablishment question he drew back many wavering Scotch votes. Discussing the Irish question at Edinburg, he said that, so long as we dealt liberally, equitably, and prudently with Ireland, this country had nothing to fear from any change; but whatever demands were entertained must be subject to the condition that the unity of the empire, and all the powers of the Imperial Parliament for maintaining that authority, must be preserved.

In a second address he affirmed his conviction that the day had not come when the disestablishment of the church should be made a test question. Land reform, local government, parliamentary procedure, and the imperial relations between Ireland and England were questions pressing for settlement by the next Parliament, and every sensible man would admit that it was right to direct attention to them rather than to a matter impossible of immediate solution.

In a speech at West Calder, Mr. Gladstone approved Lord Salisbury's action with regard to Servia, complained of the ministerial condemnation of Lord Ripon's Indian administration, ridiculed the idea of benefit resulting from a royal commission on trade depression, warned the electors against remedies which were really worse than the disease, and defended free trade principles. He further



Mr. Gladstone's Great Reception in Edinburgh.

advocated comprehensive land reforms, including free transfer, facility of registration, and the uprooting of mortmain.

Again speaking at Edinburgh, he vindicated the policy of the late Government in the Transvaal, and, alluding to Mr. Parnell's manifesto directing that a solid Irish vote should be cast for the Tories at the impending elections, he said that the Liberal party would continue to act in the same friendly and generous spirit towards Ireland as it had shown during the last fifty years undeterred by the threats or opprobrious language of Mr. Parnell.

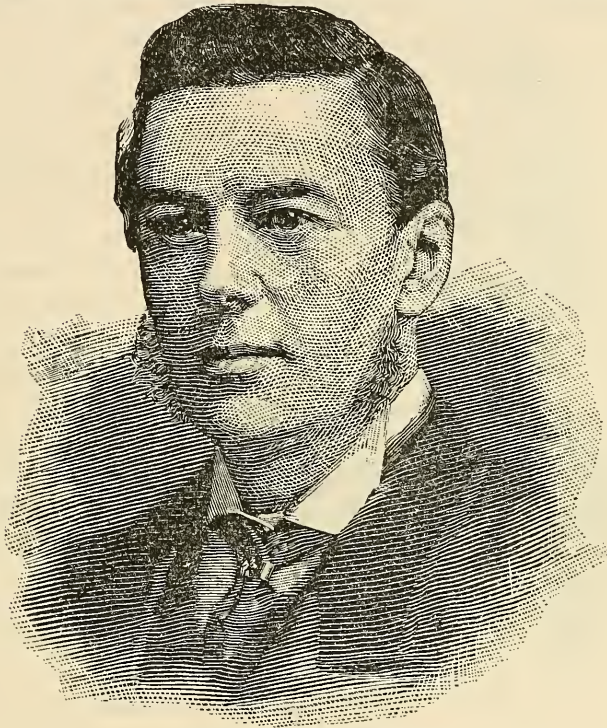
The elections resulted in the return of 333 Liberals, 249 Conservatives, 86 Parnellites, and 2 Independents. The Liberals thus secured a substantial triumph; but one of the most gratifying features of the electoral contest was the return of Mr. Gladstone for Midlothian by an overwhelming majority.

The parliamentary session of 1886 had scarcely opened before the Salisbury Government was defeated upon an amendment to the Address, moved by Mr. Jesse Collings, affirming the necessity for affording facilities to agricultural laborers to obtain allotments and small holdings. Several influential Liberals opposed the amendment, but Mr. Gladstone warmly supported it, as a recognition of the agricultural laborer's position, and of the mischiefs arising from the divorce of so large a portion of the population from the land. The Irish members coalesced with the Liberals, and the Government was placed in a minority of 79. Lord Salisbury immediately resigned.

Mr. Gladstone was sent for by the Queen, and succeeded in forming his third Ministry, February, 1886. The new Premier was faced by unusual difficulties; but after anxious thought he had come to the conclusion that it was no longer possible to deal with the Irish difficulty upon the old stereotyped lines. He was resolved to treat this all-absorbing question upon large and generous principles. Accordingly on the 8th of April, in a House densely crowded and profoundly interested, the Prime Minister brought forward his Bill to amend the provisions for the future government of Ireland—in effect, a measure for granting Home Rule to the Irish people; but with certain Imperial reservations and safeguards.

Mr. Gladstone traced the history of the Irish question, and ex-

pressed his conviction that the time had come for granting to Ireland that which she had long been loudly demanding—the right to make her own laws. The bill, however, was not only opposed by the Conservatives, but by Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, and other Liberal dissentients, who were subsequently known as Liberal Unionists, in contradistinction to the Gladstonian Liberals, who



Hon. Joseph M. Chamberlain.

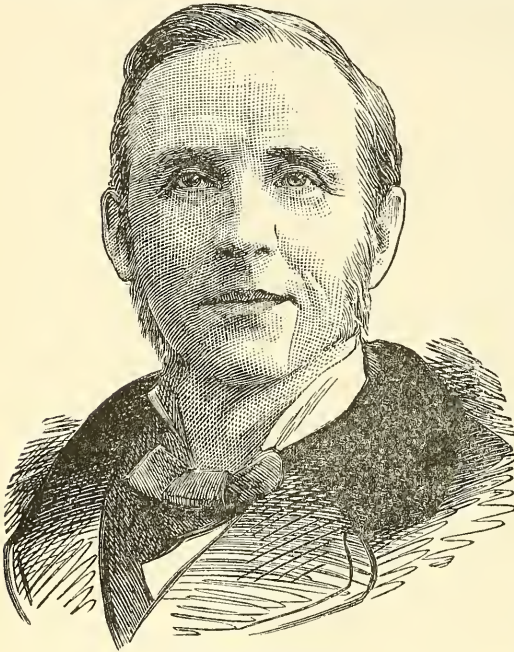
continued to form the great bulk of the Liberal party, and who are still in fact the Liberal party.

The Bill having been read a first time, on the 16th of April Mr. Gladstone supplemented it by introducing the Irish Land Purchase Bill, which was intended to come into operation on the same day as the Home Rule Bill. The object of the measure was to give to all Irish landowners the option of being bought out on the terms of the Act; to give all Irish landowners an opening towards the exercise of that option where the rent was from agricultural

land. But it did not pretend to deal with mansions, demesnes, and woods. The State authority was to be the purchaser, and the occupier was to become the proprietor. In certain congested districts, however, the State authority would also be the proprietor.

The Premier proposed to fix the nominal purchase-price at twenty years' purchase of the net rental, ascertained by deducting law charges, bad debts, and cost of management from the judicial

rent. Where there was no judicial rental, the Land Court could, if it chose, make use of Griffith's valuation for coming to a fair decision. To meet the demand for the means of purchase thus established, Mr. Gladstone proposed to create £50,000,000 Three per Cents. The repayment of advances would be secured by a Receiver-general, appointed by and acting under British authority.



Hon. John Morley.

The Land Purchase

Bill was also opposed, and it was the final cause which led to Mr. Chamberlain's retirement from the Government. The Land scheme was not destined to make progress, in consequence of the defeat of the Home Rule Bill. The country speedily became agitated on the subject of the latter measure, which was energetically supported by Mr. John Morley at Glasgow, and by Mr. Gladstone in a letter addressed to his Midlothian constituents.

The second reading of the Irish Home Rule Bill was taken on May 10th, when the Premier replied to the criticisms of his opponents, and denied that he had ever, at any period of his life,

declared Home Rule in Ireland to be incompatible with Imperial unity. He now accepted it as a remedy imperatively necessary for the repression of social disorder, and pointed out that while the policy of the Opposition was coercion, that of the Government was autonomy. "We have before us," he said, "a great opportunity of putting an end to the controversy of seven hundred years, ay, and of knitting together, by bonds firmer and higher in their character than those which heretofore we have mainly used, the hearts and affections of this people, and the noble fabric of the British Empire."

The debate extended over many nights; and while it was in progress, a Bill directed against the carrying of arms in Ireland was introduced, and pushed forward rapidly through both Houses until it became law.

The position of Ministers on the Home Rule and Land Bills was explained by Mr. Gladstone at a meeting of Liberals, held at the Foreign Office on the 27th of May. The Premier stated that the Government at present only asked for an endorsement of the leading principles of the two measures; and in afterwards closing the debate on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill in the House of Commons, he made an eloquent appeal on behalf of Ireland. The division, nevertheless, left the Government in a minority of 30, the numbers being—for the measure, 313; against, 343. It was found that 93 Liberals had voted in the majority.

Mr. Gladstone now appealed to the country on his Irish policy, and on the 14th of June issued his address to the electors of Midlothian. He stated that the ministerial plan gave to Ireland, under well considered conditions, power to transact her own affairs. This would secure a real union, and not a mere paper union, between the two countries. The Premier followed up his address by a visit to Midlothian and likewise to Glasgow, where he delivered powerful speeches in favor of the Government policy.

On the 25th of June he appeared at Manchester, and was the subject of a magnificent and enthusiastic reception at the Free Trade Hall. With unusual force and eloquence he insisted that while Irish nationality might be enlisted in the service of law and order with infinite advantage, yet if Eng-

land made it an enemy, it would teach her by sorrowful and painful lessons, that its claims could not be resisted with impunity. Passing on to Liverpool, he here also pleaded the Irish cause, and called upon the people to "ring out the old, ring in the new."

Mr. Bright who had separated from his old colleague and leader on the Irish question, addressed his constituents at Birmingham, condemning the Home Rule and Land Purchase Bills, and making some observations which Mr. Gladstone felt called upon to challenge. In a letter addressed to Mr. Bright, the Premier denied having successfully concealed his thoughts on the Irish question in the previous November, seeing that he had expressly stated that if the Irish elections went as was expected, the magnitude of the Irish question would put all others into the shade. Mr. Gladstone also pointed out that the position in Ireland had wholly changed from what it was in 1881, when there was a conspiracy for marching through rapine to the disintegration of the United Kingdom.

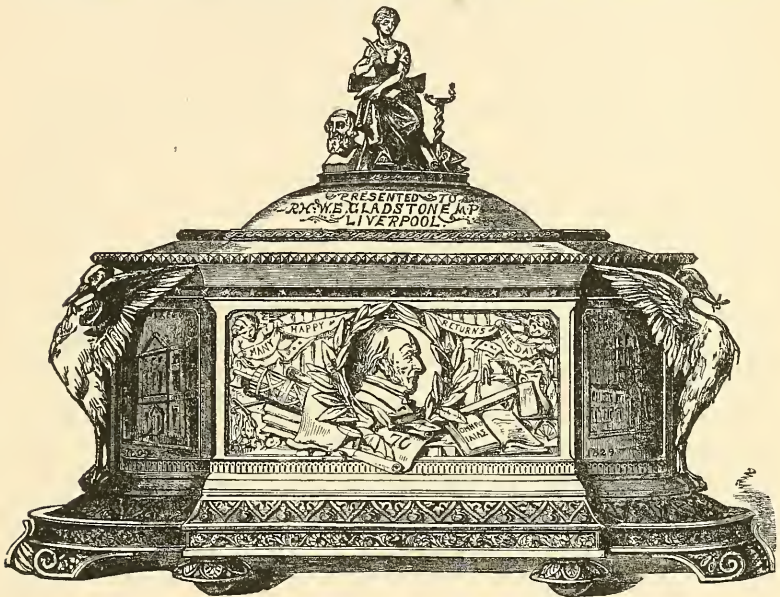
The right honorable gentleman also denied that he had endeavored to thrust the details of the Land Purchase Bill upon his colleagues and upon the House of Commons. "If I am a man capable of such an intention, I wonder you ever took office with one so ignorant of the spirit of the Constitution and so arbitrary in its character. Though this appears to be your opinion of me, I do not think it is the opinion held by my countrymen in general. You quote not a word in support of your charge. It is absolutely untrue." Mr. Bright replied, remarking that the liberal leader had asked the constituencies to send him a majority large enough to make him independent of Mr. Parnell and his party, and yet he had since completely surrendered to Mr. Parnell.

Mr. Bright's letter was not a satisfactory answer to the various points urged by Mr. Gladstone, but the member for Central Birmingham added, "Though I thus differ from you at this time and on this question, do not imagine that I ever cease to admire your great qualities, or to value the great services you have rendered to your country."

A correspondence between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. A. J. Bal-

four, published in July, demonstrated that the former had urged upon Lord Salisbury the absolute necessity of dealing immediately with the Irish question, and expressed a strong hope that the subject should not fall into the lines of party conflict.

The general election of July, 1886, was fought out under circumstances of great excitement, and much misrepresentation of the Liberal position on the part of Conservative and Liberal Unionist candidates. The Liberals were defeated, and the new House of



Casket Presented to Mr. Gladstone by his Liverpool Constituents.

Commons was composed as follows: Conservatives, 316; Liberal Unionists, 78; Gladstonian Liberals, 191; and Irish Home Rulers, 85.

With such a decided majority against him, Mr. Gladstone resigned office, and Lord Salisbury again became Prime Minister. Mr. Gladstone congratulated the Government on not announcing a policy of Coercion in the House of Commons, and said that with every admission that Coercion would not be applied again, he believed Home Rule came nearer and nearer. Until law was administered in Ireland in an Irish spirit, there would be no security for social order in the sister country.

Mr. Gladstone left England for a tour in Bavaria in the autumn, but before doing so he issued a pamphlet on the Irish question, divided into two parts: I. History of an Idea; and, II. Lessons of the Elections. In the former section he traced the several stages by which the great question of autonomy for Ireland had been brought to a state of ripeness for practical legislation; and in the second part showed that, of the four nationalities in the United Kingdom, Scotland approved his Irish policy by three to two, Ireland by four and a half to one, and "gallant Wales" by five to one; whilst England decided against Ireland by returning 336 opponents to 129 supporters.

In October Mr. Gladstone received five deputations at Hawarden. One of them presented an address from 400,000 women of Ireland, while the other four conveyed to him the freedom of four Irish cities—Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and Clonmel. The Liberal leader expressed his conviction of the success of Home Rule, and denied that Ireland wished for separation.

Much to the surprise of the Liberal party, the Tory Government introduced a Crimes Prevention (Ireland) Bill of exceptional severity in the session of 1887. It had been understood that there was to be no Coercion, and many Conservative members were returned on this clear understanding. Moreover, Ireland was far freer from ordinary crime than England. The Bill was obviously drawn to suppress the free expression of political opinion in Ireland, and to destroy the influence of the National League.

Mr. Gladstone and the great bulk of the Liberal party strongly opposed this arbitrary and unnecessary measure, but it was carried by the aid of Liberal Dissident votes. The Act was applied with great stringency during the recess, and Mr. O'Brien and other Irish members were thrown into prison, but the Coercion Act entirely failed to achieve its leading object, namely, the suppression of the Land League.

Irish debates were of frequent occurrence in the House of Commons in 1888, but the session was chiefly signalized by the passing of the Local Government Act, a measure of a democratic character, establishing County Councils throughout the kingdom; and by the appointment of a Commission, consisting of three judges, to try the *Times'* charges against Mr. Parnell and various

other persons. The Commission sat for upwards of fifty days, and then passed through a series of sensational and startling episodes. The letters alleged to have been written by Mr. Parnell implicating him in assassination and crime were confessed to be forgeries by an Irish witness named Richard Pigott, and the *Times* abandoned the charges founded upon the letters and made an apology to the Irish leader.

In November, 1888, Mr. Gladstone paid a memorable visit to Birmingham. On the 5th he appeared at the Town Hall, which was crowded to excess. Replying to an address from the Birmingham Liberal Association, he first paid a touching tribute to John Bright, expressing a fervent wish for his restoration to health, and then went on to condemn the administration of the Coercion Act, dealing also with other public questions. Next day he received a deputation from Walsall, assuring them that the Liberal Unionists were visibly approaching their doom. It was a question between doing justice to Ireland on the one hand in conjunction with the Liberal party at large, and on the other of swallowing Toryism bodily and wholly.

In the schoolroom attached to the Church of the Redeemer, Edgbaston, Mr. Gladstone received a number of handsome presents from the workmen of Birmingham. He afterwards visited the Council House and Art Gallery, and attended the Mayor's reception in the evening. On the following morning he accompanied Mrs. Gladstone to Ashfield House, where a medallion cameo portrait of the ex-premier was presented to Mrs. Gladstone by the Liberal ladies of Birmingham.

On the evening of the 7th a great demonstration was held in the Bingley Hall, a building which in its normal state is capable of holding about 20,000 people, but which for this occasion was made to hold many more. The meeting was one of the most enthusiastic and remarkable in the annals of the Liberal party, upwards of one hundred members of Parliament and many other influential persons supporting the ex-Premier on the platform. The chair was taken by Mr. Osler, President of the Birmingham Liberal Association.

When Mr. Gladstone rose to speak an unparalleled scene of enthusiasm occurred. He was kept standing for some minutes, while

volleys of cheering rang through the hall, and handkerchiefs were waved by the ladies. When quiet was at length restored, Mr. Gladstone at once plunged into the subject of Ireland. He impeached the Government as a government of unequal law, as a lawless government, a government whose policy and operations the Irish people had a right to resent. The right of combination, given in England, was withheld in Ireland; and the right of public meeting was in the hands of the Lord-Lieutenant, whose will was executed and confirmed by magistrates removable at the will of the Executive. Irish members were tried for offences far less serious than *sedition*, and treated as common felons. He believed that the world generally looked upon our treatment of Ireland as dishonorable to England.

Mr. Gladstone forcibly said—"You are invited to maintain this system—and why? Is it economical? The waste of Imperial treasure under this system is enormous. I ought to know something of the finances of the country, and I do not hesitate to say that to place the waste of the present system of governing Ireland at from three to four millions a year of hard money, is but a moderate estimate of the facts. This waste to produce what? Not to produce content, but to produce discontent. Does it produce Imperial strength? Suppose we were involved in great difficulties, suppose we had—God forbid that we should have—a crisis like the original American war brought upon us. At this time would Ireland add to our strength what she ought to add? No. We have now got Ireland making a thoroughly constitutional demand—demanding what is in her own language a subordinate Parliament, acknowledging in the fullest terms the supremacy of the Parliament at Westminster. How can you know that under all circumstances that moderation of demand will continue?"

Another scene of intense enthusiasm was witnessed when the ex-Premier resumed his seat, after having spoken with great energy and clearness of enunciation for a hour and fifty minutes. On the 8th Mr. Gladstone received a deputation and an address from the Irish Nationalists of Birmingham and district. He subsequently planted a tree in Sir Walter Foster's garden, and then left for West Bromwich on a visit to the Hon. P. Stanhope. Replying to a number of addresses presented to him at West Bromwich, he said

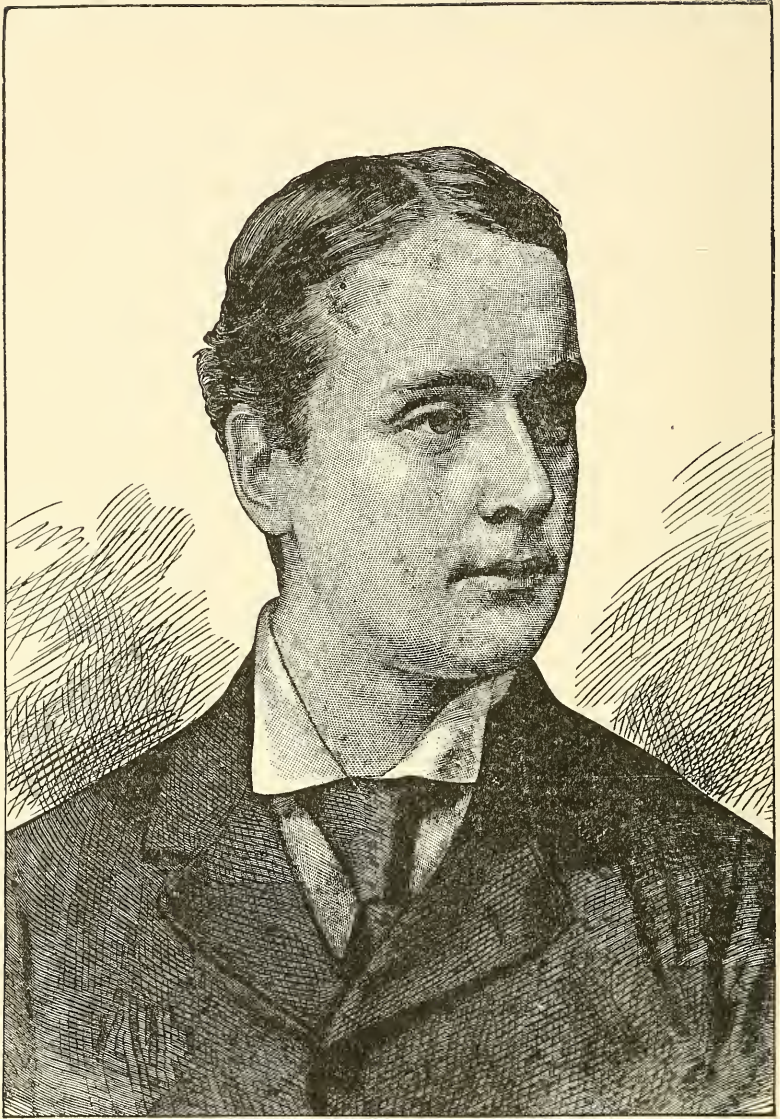
the balance at the last election was cast not by the true sense of the population considered individually as men, but by plural votes given by owners of property, who had already enjoyed occupation votes.

Mr. Gladstone's prediction that the policy of Home Rule would make rapid progress was abundantly justified by the course of events. A number of Liberal dissentients, like Sir George Tevelyan, who had promised to support Home Rule if certain Imperial guarantees were conceded, returned to the Liberal fold on receiving Mr. Gladstone's assurances; but Mr. Chamberlain, who had also asked for these safeguards, instead of accepting them as he agreed to do, attacked his old leader and his plans with a rancor and hostility which lost him the esteem of all true Liberals. Wherever the country had an opportunity of declaring itself on the burning question of the day—from Southampton in the extreme south to Govan and East Perthshire in the north—it pronounced an overwhelming verdict in favor of Home Rule, and in condemnation of the policy of Lord Salisbury's Government.

In December Mr. Gladstone went to Italy for the benefit of his health, making his headquarters at Naples. He was warmly greeted by the Italian people, gratitude mingling with their enthusiasm for the important services which the English statesman had rendered in the past to the cause of Italian freedom and unity. After a sojourn of two months in the south of Europe he returned to England much refreshed and invigorated, and ready to take part in the labors of a session which promised to be unusually animated and eventful.

On August 4, 1892, Mr. Gladstone, in his eighty-third year, began the administration that most statesmen twenty years his junior would have hesitated to undertake.

He was not destined, however, to witness the triumph of his ambition to confer home rule upon Ireland. His intellectual vigor continued unabated, and on October 24, 1892, he delivered the first of the Romanes lectures at Oxford, his subject being "Mediæval Universities," and his welcome at his old university was enthusiastic. He was presented with the freedom of the city of Liverpool on December 30th, shortly after paying a visit to Biarritz, where his eighty-third year was spent. On April 6th of the following year



Lord Rosebery—Gladstone's Successor.

he moved the second reading of the Home Rule bill in the House of Commons, and subsequently superintended the progress of the bill with unparalleled vigor and patience.

During that month a lunatic made an unsuccessful attempt upon his life without disturbing his serenity or producing any apparent effect upon his nervous system. He delivered a speech at the opening of the new Hawarden Institute on May 23d on "Labor Representation." He made a trip to Scotland in September speaking at Edinburgh on the relations between Lords and Commons, returning to his place in the House of Commons on the reassembling of Parliament. During the winter recess he spent several weeks with his family and a few close personal friends at Biarritz, the House meeting in his absence. It was now evident to his closest friends that his great work as a statesman was nearly done.

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, early in 1894, startled the English public by publishing a report that Mr. Gladstone contemplated retiring from public life. The report was contradicted for the time, and Mr. Gladstone returned to his seat in the House of Commons. Before the end of February, however, he, in speaking to the order of the day, announced his own retirement and resigned very shortly afterward, to be succeeded by Lord Rosebery. It then, for the first time, became known to the public that he was losing both sight and hearing.

During May, 1894, a successful operation was performed upon his right eye for cataract, but the restoration of his sight did not induce him to again enter public life. He shortly after resigned his seat in Parliament, and engaged in the formation of a library to be bequeathed to the public and in important literary work, including a poetical translation of the Odes of Horace. He continued to write and lecture in defense of the Christian religion until near the close of his remarkable life, and what was probably more convincing and important—lived the faith he professed.

His chief public utterances on political subjects after his retirement from public life consisted of trenchant criticisms upon the Salisbury Government for its course in abandoning the Armenian Christians to Turkish massacre and spoliation. His closing years were spent in such domestic enjoyment as the infirmities of his advanced age rendered possible.

CHAPTER XVI.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS, DOMESTIC RELATIONS, AND LITERARY CAREER.

TURNING back to the earliest time at which the personal appearance and manner of Mr. Gladstone were of sufficient general interest to warrant a description in the journals of the day, we find him noticed in Mr. Cornelius Brown's "History of Newark." At the date of his first election to Parliament he was somewhat robust in appearance, and was considered a handsome man, possessing a most intelligent and expressive countenance. He made friends, says one who speaks from a personal recollection of this contest, by his thoughtful look and attractive bearing.

A portrait in oils, executed a few years later for the Newark Conservative Club, was engraved, though but few copies of the engraving exist. At first sight, says one who has seen it, it is hardly recognizable as the former appearance of the rugged face with whose outlines we are all familiar; the plump face soon became thin and furrowed by the cares of state, and it is only after a closer look that we recognize the somewhat prominent nose, the intellectual forehead, the anxious eyes, and the earnest expression which even then gave promise of his conscientiousness in later years.

It is perhaps significant, in this connection, that these early descriptions, especially those which are drawn from the newspapers of the time, invariably speak of Mr. Gladstone as older than he really was at that date. Whether it was his mental or moral characteristics that gave him the appearance of a longer acquaintance with the world, would require the contemporary testimony of an eye-witness, and this we do not possess.

Although Mr. Gladstone had impressed all with whom he came in contact with the idea that he was a young man of considerable ability, his later pre-eminence was not universally accorded to him by the prophets of the political world; but it can hardly be matter

for wonder that those observers who sneered at the pretensions of young Disraeli as absurd should be mistaken in his great rival. In the work, "The British Senate in 1838," the writer, after speaking of the great things which Mr. Gladstone's party expects from him, and alluding to the successes with which he had already met, goes on to say :

"He is a man of very considerable talent, but has nothing approaching to genius. His abilities are much more the result of an excellent education, and of mature study, than of any prodigality of nature in the distribution of her mental gifts. I have no idea that he will ever acquire the reputation of a great statesman. His views are not sufficiently profound or enlarged for that; his celebrity in the House of Commons will chiefly depend on his readiness and dexterity as a debater, in conjunction with the excellence of his elocution, and the gracefulness of his manner when speaking."

So much for a general estimate of the man, written at a time when he had been long enough in Parliament to afford data for a reasonably fair criticism. When the writer leaves prophecy, and devotes himself to description, he is more interesting :

"Mr. Gladstone's appearance and manner are much in his favor. He is a fine-looking man. He is about the usual height, and of good figure. His countenance is mild and pleasant, and has a highly intellectual expression. His eyes are clear and quick. His eyebrows are dark and rather prominent. There is not a dandy in the House but envies what Truefit would call his fine head of jet-black hair. It is always carefully parted from the crown downward to his brow, where it is tastefully shaded. His features are small and regular, and his complexion must be very unworthy witness if he does not possess an abundant stock of health.

"Mr. Gladstone's gesture is varied, but not violent. When he rises he generally puts both hands behind his back, and having there suffered them to embrace each other for a short time, he unclasps them, and allows them to drop on either side. They are not permitted to remain long in that locality before you see them again closed together, and hanging down before him. Their re-union is not suffered to last for any length of time. Again a separation takes place, and now the right hand is seen moving up and down before him. Having thus exercised it a little, he thrusts it into the

pocket of his coat, and then orders the left hand to follow its example. Having granted them a momentary repose there, they are again put into gentle motion, and in a few seconds they are seen reposing vis-a-vis on his breast. He moves his face and body from one direction to another, not forgetting to bestow a liberal share of attention upon his own party.

“He is always listened to with much attention by the House, and appears to be highly respected by men of all parties. He is a man of good business habits; of this he furnished abundant proof when Under-Secretary for the Colonies, during the short-lived administration of Sir Robert Peel. . . . His style is polished, but has no appearance of the effect of previous preparation.

“He displays considerable acuteness in replying to an opponent; he is quick in his perception of anything vulnerable in the speech to which he replies, and happy in laying the weak point bare to the gaze of the House. He now and then indulges in sarcasm, which is, in most cases, very felicitous. He is plausible even when most in error. When it suits himself or his party, he can apply himself with the strictest closeness to the real point at issue; when to evade the point is deemed most politic, no man can wander from it more widely.”

In the case of an individual so eminent as the “Grand Old Man,” it is scarcely an idle curiosity which delights in such details. It may fairly be claimed that the most determined enemy of personal gossip might listen with delight to those trifles which indicate the character of the man, and something of the advantages which he has enjoyed, or the disadvantages which he has conquered. Of the latter there are few or none that beset the life of Mr. Gladstone, outside of the difficulties which the constitution of his own mind placed in his path. Delaying the consideration of these qualities and their results for a moment, we would point out that the gestures, so fully described in the above extract, are not without meaning.

Young Disraeli, mocked and ridiculed as he was by the House of Commons during the very time that Gladstone was winning such golden opinions, would never have changed the position of his hands so frequently during the course of a speech. These are the movements of a man whose earnestness is so great that it

makes him distrustful of his own powers; who feels that the burden of care may weight him to the ground; they are the movements of a man capable of changing his course when his opinions have changed, regardless of the sneers which his inconsistency may provoke.

Out of his very conscientiousness arose this inconsistency, as his enemies are pleased to call it. In his work, "Mr. Gladstone: a Study," Louis J. Jennings has taken some pains to collate all the unfavorable criticisms of the eminent Liberal; three of these are applicable to the portion of the subject now under consideration. We append them:

"His conscience is so tender, he will never go straight." Rev. Augustus Page Saunders, in 1832 (later, the Dean of Peterborough).

"I think his intellect can persuade his conscience of anything." Dr. Lake, Dean of Durham, in 1860.

"He can persuade most people of most things; but above all, he can persuade himself of anything." Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster, in 1883.

This is the testimony of his enemies; for although Forster had held office under the Liberal Premier, these words were uttered in a speech delivered in the House of Commons after his resignation from the office of Irish Secretary, while he was smarting under the sense of defeat, and the knowledge that his policy in that position had been condemned by its results. To these words we add no comment; believing their recognition of his conscientiousness as of more import than their insinuated criticisms upon his judgment. The one is a fact; the other is a matter of opinion.

We are prepared to admit, with the author whose description of him in his youth has already been quoted, that Mr. Gladstone does not possess the highest of all attributes, an absolutely informing genius. But if not "born for the universe," he has never narrowed his mind to cater to the requirements of any party, or any portion of the community; he has never concerned himself with one department of public affairs to the exclusion of all others. This has been well put by R. H. Hutton, the author of "Sketches in Parliament:"

"He cares even more than trades-unions for the welfare of the workingmen; more than the manufacturers for the interests of

capital; more for the cause of retrenchment than the most jealous and avowed foes of government expenditure; more for the spread of national education than the advocates of a compulsory national education; more for careful constitutional precedent than the Whigs; and more for the spiritual independence of the Church than the Tories. He unites cotton with culture, Manchester with Oxford, the deep classical joy over the Italian resurrection and Greek independence with the deep English interest on the amount of the duty on Zante raisins and Italian rags. The great railway boards and the bishops are about equally interested in Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone's mind mediates between the moral and material interests of the age and rests in neither. He moralizes finance and commerce, and (if we may be allowed the barbarism) institutionalizes ethics and faith."

Perhaps it is this very appreciation of all interests that has led to his defeat and unpopularity at times; since the attention paid to one would often be offensive to the other, each demanding all the aid which the statesman had to give to all interests. Thus the railway boards would be displeased when he neglected them for church matters, and the bishops would feel themselves aggrieved when he devoted himself to matters of transportation.

This union of qualities had hardly been fully evidenced at the time of which we write; we have anticipated somewhat our analysis of his character. Let us proceed to another topic, upon which we have already touched.

In July, 1839, Mr. Gladstone married Miss Catherine Glynne, the daughter of Sir Stephen Richard Glynne, of Hawarden Castle, Flintshire. The bride was not remarkable for her personal beauty, being not very flatteringly described as a tall, long-featured, sedate Englishwoman, whose manners were shy to awkwardness. The same authority which speaks thus of her personal appearance pays ample tribute to her amiability; and the awkward shyness in the presence of others gave place in privacy to the quiet strength which has sustained the statesman in many an hour of trial. Her name was not unknown, at an early day, as a practical philanthropist; and later on she became something of a power in the political world, deriving her strength from her intellectual character and her high womanly integrity.

Seven of her eight children have attained to years of discretion. Of the four sons, two have taken part in political life, though they are, of course, overshadowed by the greatness of the name which they bear; but they have shown themselves not unworthy of their father. One is a man of business, as his grandfather was; and the other is the rector of Hawarden. Two of his daughters are married; not wisely, according to the voice of the world, which gauges wisdom in such matters by the establishment which is secured; but certainly very well, when the character of their husbands is considered. Miss Helen Gladstone has made herself a name in educational matters, and is at the head of a department of Newnham College for Women.

We see from this that the home which has become so famous, belongs not to the master, but to the mistress of the household. Mr. Gladstone inherited from his father a considerable fortune, but it was not in the enduring form of real estate, and much of it has been dissipated by the expenses of traveling, and in the gratification of refined tastes. There is considerable disparity in the statements which have been made regarding his circumstances in the later years of his life, some writers appearing to think that he was on the verge of genteel poverty, while others maintained that he was possessed of a considerable income.

His removal from Carlton House Terrace, and the sale of his collections of china and articles of virtue have always been regarded as evidences that the man who could take such excellent care of the nation's finances had sorely neglected his own. However this may be, it is certain that his income has never been permanently increased by the princely salaries that he has received, while there have been many and heavy drains upon it. There was no expense spared in the education of his children, as there was none spared in his own, and as we have before said, the family has had every wish and taste indulged.

The estate connected with Hawarden Castle consists of about seven thousand acres, and is supposed to yield an annual income of \$90,000, so that there is no danger of coming to real want. The house itself is a noble specimen of the "stately homes of England." It was built in the year 1752, and its solid masonry may defy the ravages of time for centuries to come. The venerable trees sur-

rounding it give beauty and grandeur to the scene without dwarfing the work of man. The granite towers reach skyward so far that they can be seen above the intervening screen of trees at Queen's Ferry railroad station, a mile and a half away.

Just across a beautiful ravine, and within the grounds of the modern dwelling, is the ancient edifice of which this is the successor. Old Hawarden Castle dates from the eleventh century, being one of the earliest of that army of military posts which the victorious Normans used as sentinels over the conquered land, and within the grim walls of which they were equally ready for banquets and music or for resistance to the king and oppression of the commons.

It is on an elevation of ground so steep that it is only with some difficulty the modern tourist can reach the base of the building; and the military advantages of its natural position have been heightened by art. The dungeons have been compared by an irreverent American newspaper correspondent to an immense brick oven; space does not permit us to give a more dignified comparison, or, indeed, to say more upon the subject. Let the graphic art be more eloquent than words.

It was in this atmosphere that the career of the great statesman was planned; it was in smoky, busy London that those plans were carried out. Here again we see some of the strange contrasts which environed the man, and helped to shape the character.

Having thus dealt with the personal history of his earlier life, and described his appearance at that period, we come to a time more nearly approaching the present. We have quoted an extended description of his appearance and manner in 1838; let us listen to the comments of H. W. Lucy upon that very passage, premising that Mr. Lucy is one of the best authorities upon Gladstoniana:

“It is curious to note that some of these mannerisms of forty years ago [Mr. Lucy wrote in 1878] are preserved by the great statesman we know to-day. It is particularly notable that to this day, when Mr. Gladstone rises and begins what is intended to be a great oration, he has a tendency to clasp his hands behind his back. This attitude, however, like the subdued mood of which it is the indication, prevails only during the opening sentences. Age has fired rather than dulled his oratorical energy.

“He has even, during the existence of the present Parliament, increased in rapidity of gesture almost to the point of fury. The jet-black hair of forty years ago has faded and fallen, leaving only a few thin wisps of gray carefully disposed over the grandly-formed head with which, as he told a Scotch deputation the other day, London hatters have had such trouble. The rounded cheeks are sunken, and their bloom has given place to pallor; the full brow is wrinkled; the dark eyes, bright and flashing still, are underset with innumerable wrinkles; the good figure is somewhat rounded at the shoulders; and the sprightly step is growing deliberate.

“But the intellectual fire of forty years ago is rather quickened than quenched, and the promise of health has been abundantly fulfilled in a maintenance of physical strength and activity that seems phenomenal. Mr. Gladstone will outsit the youngest member of the House if the issue at stake claims his vote in the pending division. He can speak for three hours at a stretch, and he will put into the three hours as much mental and physical energy as, judiciously distributed, would suffice for the whole debate. His magnificent voice is as true in tone and as insensible to fatigue as when it was first heard within the walls of the House.

“By comparison he is far more emphatic when addressing the House of Commons than when standing before a public meeting. This, doubtless, is explicable by the fact that, while in the one case he is free from contradiction, in the other he is, more particularly in a period of Tory ascendancy, outrageously subject to it. Trembling through every nerve with conviction and the wrath of battle, he almost literally smites his opponent hip and thigh. Taking the brass-bound box upon the table as representative of the right honorable gentleman or the noble lord opposite, he will beat it violently with his right hand, creating a resounding noise that sometimes makes it difficult to catch the words he desires to emphasize.

“Or, standing with heels closely pressed together and feet spread out fanwise, so that he may turn as on a pivot to watch the effect of his speech upon either side of the House, he will assume that the palm of his left hand is his adversary of the moment, and straightway he beats upon it with his right hand with a ferocity that causes to curdle the blood of the occupants of the ladies' gallery. At this

stage will be noted the most marked retention of the early House of Commons habit, in the way in which the orator continually turns around to address his own followers, to the outraging of the fundamental point of etiquette that all speech should be directed to the Chair."

His manner as an orator brings us to the consideration of his qualities as an orator. Our space has not permitted us to give many or long extracts from his speeches, but perhaps enough has been quoted to show what is his literary style. His enemies find fault with it in two respects: he is too verbose, and his statements are often so indirect as to be ambiguous. As to his verbosity they may well complain, for it is the heaping of argument upon argument, of epithet upon epithet, of invective upon invective, which makes him so terrible a foe. The charge that he can talk a good deal without saying anything is perhaps true; but their caviling is mere jealousy, for it is often an inestimable power to the minister of the Crown who must reply to questions, but is not yet ready to announce his policy.

Mr. Hayward, in his "Critical and Biographical Essays," awards the first place among parliamentary debaters to Mr. Gladstone, on the ground that he has made more fine speeches than any other orator of the day. "He may lack Mr. Bright's impressive diction, impressive by its simplicity, or Mr. Disraeli's humor and sarcasm, but he has made ten eminently successful speeches where Mr. Bright or Mr. Disraeli has made one." To this dictum Justin McCarthy demurs, on the ground that it is not the number of productions, but the merit of the best, that makes a man pre-eminent over his fellows.

"We are not, therefore, inclined to call Mr. Gladstone the greatest English orator of our time when we remember some of the finest speeches of Mr. Bright; but did we regard parliamentary speaking as a mere instrument of parliamentary business and debate, then unquestionably Mr. Gladstone is not only the greatest, but by far the greatest, English orator of our time, for he has a richer combination of gifts than any other man we can remember, and he could use them oftenest with effect. He was like a racer which cannot, indeed, always go faster than every rival, but can win more races in a year than any other horse.

“Mr. Gladstone could get up at any moment, and no matter how many times a night, in the House of Commons and be argumentative or indignant, pour out a stream of impassioned eloquence or a shower of figures, just as the exigency of the debate and the moment required. He was not, of course, always equal, but he was always eloquent and effective. He seemed as if he could not be anything but eloquent. Perhaps, judged in this way, he never had an equal in the English Parliament. Probably no one, past or present, had in combination so many gifts of voice, manner, fluency, and argument, style, reason, and passion, as Mr. Gladstone.”

The style of his speeches is wonderful, when we consider that he never writes out a line of them, and that some of his most effective orations have been delivered in reply to those which had just ended when he rose to his feet. Mr. Bright, on the contrary, was in the habit of writing out the peroration of his speeches, and not infrequently sent the slip of paper to the reporters, that they might be certain to get his words correctly. Mr. Disraeli sometimes wrote out the whole of a speech which he intended to be especially effective; and on one occasion at least a speech of his was in type before it was delivered.

Mr. Gladstone's eloquence, however, is in a certain sense spontaneous. A notable example of this faculty was the speech at the close of the debate on the Irish University bill, a rare example of close reasoning, brilliant illustration, and powerful eloquence. This was begun when Mr. Disraeli sat down, and was for the greatest and best part an answer to what the Tory leader had just said.

We have limited the assertion that Mr. Gladstone's eloquence was spontaneous. While he never wrote out his speeches, and apparently could speak as well without preparation as with it, he was always careful to inform himself fully upon the subject on which he intended to speak. Fortified with facts, and if need be figures, his command of language was such that he was enabled to put these not only into the best form possible, but what was of more immediate importance, into the form most acceptable to his hearers.

We have alluded to what is sometimes termed his verbosity. He was often diffuse, because of his extreme care to state the case just as he saw it, with all the arguments which led him to a given determination; but he could be concise if there was a reason for it,

Mr. Wemyss Reid, in his "Cabinet Portraits," describes a scene in which Mr. Gladstone held in check his tendency to extreme fluency :

"He is never seen to so much advantage as when, at the close of a long discussion, he rises in the midst of a crowded House, impatient for a division, to reply to Mr. Disraeli or Mr. Hardy. The readiness with which he replies to a speech just delivered is amazing. He will take up, one after another, the arguments of his opponent, and examine them and debate them with as much precision and fluency as though he had spent weeks in the preparation of his answer. Then, too, at such moments time is precious, and he is compelled to repress that tendency to prolixity which is one of his greatest faults as an orator. His sentences, instead of wandering on interminably, are short and clear, and from beginning to end of the speech there is hardly a word which seems unnecessary.

"The excitement, too, which prevails around him always infects him strongly ; his pale face twitches, his magnificent voice quivers, his body sways from side to side as he pours forth argument, pleading and invective, strangely intermingled. The storm of cheers and counter-cheers rages around him, as it can rage nowhere except in the House of Commons on such an occasion ; but high and clear above the tumult rings out his voice, like the trumpet sounding through the din of the battle-field.

"As he draws to a close something like a calm comes over the scene, and upon both sides men listen eagerly to his words, anxious to catch each sentence of his peroration, always delivered with an artistic care, which only one other member of Parliament can equal, and seldom failing to impress the House with its beauty. Then it is that his great powers are seen to the best and fullest advantage, voice and accent and gesture all giving life and force to the words which he utters."

There have been many witty sayings regarding Mr. Gladstone's oratory. It was said that he was the only man in the House who could talk in italics—a significant saying. It was something like the American talent for exaggeration which prompted another observer to say that Mr. Gladstone could speak upon a subject every night for a week, and then say coolly : "After these

few preliminary remarks, I will proceed to the full discussion of the subject." Assertions that he never seemed weary must of course be limited; perhaps it would be nearest the truth to say that up to the age of seventy-five he was indefatigable as a speaker. His voice seemed not to grow weak or husky, whatever the demands that were made upon it, but rang out in all its silvery clearness at the close as at the beginning.

So much for Mr. Gladstone as an orator. As a party leader he did not meet with the same unvarying success. The reason of this was that he was never able to understand a mind of less power than his own. "He is incapable of making any allowances for the weaknesses of his fellow-creatures," says the excellent analyst above quoted; "he has great strength of his own; his soul, when he is engaged on any question of importance, is filled with an earnestness which is almost heroic, and he sees only one road to the end at which he aims—the shortest.

"Under these circumstances he is incapable of understanding how any of his followers, who share his creed, and profess to be anxious to reach the same goal as himself, can demur to the path he is taking. For their individual crotchets he makes no allowances, and he is especially regardless of the unwillingness of the English gentleman to be driven in any particular direction. It is curious to see as the result of this how much needless irritation he succeeds, at times, in causing among his followers. Over and over again the Liberal clubs have rung with complaints of his 'temper'—it ought rather to be temperament—of his want of consideration for the ideas, the foibles, the prejudices of the rank and file of his party.

"The general result is that he makes a bad leader. Indeed, it would be safer to say that he does not lead at all, in the common sense of the word—others lead for him. Equally certain is it that he has a will of enormous strength. Lord Salisbury has spoken of it in Parliament as an arrogant will, and it is undoubtedly in the Cabinet a dominant will—that he holds, in a very considerable degree, that the end justifies the means, and that he is in the heat of debate a victim of an impetuosity which sometimes hurries him into false positions, from which he is generally too proud to retreat afterward."

The last sentence is hardly just, though we have quoted it with the rest. Perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say that when Mr. Gladstone was thus hurried by impetuosity into false positions, he has argued the case with himself until he has persuaded himself that the position was not a false one. Taken in connection with the judgment of the Dean of Peterborough and his brother of Durham, this theory is not untenable.

As a Parliamentary leader, Mr. Gladstone stands in strong contrast to his great rival, who was never so thoroughly in earnest that he forgot to consider the failings of those who were his followers, or who might be made so. These failings of the great Liberal may be well illustrated by two anecdotes, which are told upon good authority.

One of the Ministers was twitted by some friends with having supported by his vote certain measures to which they had supposed he would not consent, as a member of the Cabinet; and it was rather broadly hinted that a Minister who protests unavailingly against a policy has always the privilege of resigning.

"I have not agreed with a single measure that Mr. Gladstone has brought in this session (1882)," he returned somewhat indignantly, "but I voted for them all, and I have not felt called upon to resign, for I was never consulted about any of them."

On another occasion, when the division of the Liberal party had become a fact, a prominent member of it asked a Gladstonian what was done at a considerable meeting of the party.

"Nothing," was the nonchalant reply.

"Nothing?" repeated the interrogator; "then what was the use of the meeting?"

"Oh, it put us all in a good humor."

Mr. Gladstone is full of reminiscences, and thinks that everybody's memory ought to be as tenacious as his own. One night during his second administration he sat on the Treasury bench with only one colleague beside him. He was apparently asleep, and the other man thought that he might venture on a doze. But presently the Tory who was speaking ventured upon some historical statement. Mr. Gladstone was at once on the alert.

"That is entirely wrong," he said, rousing himself and turning

to his colleague. "This fellow is mixing up his facts and his dates. Don't you remember so-and-so."

He proceeded to recall, in all its minuteness, some obscure passage of political history, of which the subordinate was obliged to confess that he knew nothing. Mr. Gladstone looked at him a moment in pitying wonder, and as soon as he dared the hapless man slunk away. In the lobby he met a friend to whom he said :

"I'm going home. I can't stand that fiendish old man any more. Why, he actually cross-examined me about something that had happened before I was born."

Having thus briefly reviewed Mr. Gladstone's career as an orator and a party leader, we come to the consideration of his work as a student and a man of letters. He was distinguished from the very first as a hard worker. While at Oxford he was accustomed to entertain in no niggardly way ; but when his friends had left him, for further pleasures or for rest, he was hard at work once more. It was the marvel of all, how he managed to get so much done, without devoting himself to study to the exclusion of all besides.

The secret lay in the system with which he labored. "It mattered not where he was, in college rooms or in country mansion, from 10 A. M. to 2 P. M. no one ever saw William Ewart Gladstone. He was locked up with his books. From the age of eighteen to the age of twenty-one he never missed these precious four hours except when he was traveling. And his ordeal in the evening was not less severe ; eight o'clock saw him once more engaged in a stiff bout with Aristotle, or plunged deep in the text of Thucydides."

As a reader, he devoted himself to those books which would be useful to him ; and was especially averse to reading a borrowed book, since it denies the reader the privilege of making notes upon the margin. His immense library at Hawarden has never been catalogued, such a thing being unnecessary to a man who could go to the shelf and put his hand at once upon the very book he wished.

Within the walls containing the finest private library in the world (for so his book-treasures have been ranked), the thoughtful writer did most of his writing. But he never confined his reading to the one apartment ; that was done anywhere, in the house or out of it ; he accustomed himself even to read while strolling along the country roads and across the fields ; throughout, his residence

at Hawarden became, at an early period, pre-eminently a student's life.

The productions of this life have their chief interest in their authorship; though they are of no small literary value. His first published work was "The State in its Relations with the Church," to which ample reference has already been made. Twenty years afterward, or in 1858, he published a work in three volumes, entitled "Homer and the Homeric Age." This has been described as a great, but very unequal work; though the same critic says that as the work of one of the first of orators and statesmen the volumes are altogether wonderful.

From the overflowings of this vast reservoir of Homeric knowledge, have been gathered a number of magazine articles, which have excited much interest among scholars; and the earlier important work has been followed by two others, involving scarcely less labor and thought—*Juventus Mundi* and *Homeric Synchronism*; the former in 1869, and the latter in 1876.

During the period that Mr. Gladstone professed to be in retirement, though it soon became evident that retirement from political life was impossible for him as long as his health, physical and mental, permitted him to take part, he chiefly occupied himself with controversial writings. To this period we must assign his pamphlet on "The Vatican Decrees," and that on "Vaticanism," written in reply to those who had answered the first. The essays on Ritualism had preceded those upon Catholicism; and he had not done with his criticisms upon Pius IX, before the necessities of the political situation demanded that he should turn his pen to another use—the picturing of the atrocities perpetrated in Bulgaria.

Mr. Gladstone was long a valued contributor to the *Reviews*, his subjects being drawn from the wide range indicated by the varying nature of his published volumes. These minor contributions to literature were collected some years since into a series of seven volumes, entitled "Gleanings of Past Years." These include all of his essays except those of a controversial or political character, as far as then published; but this is a most important exception. His writings on Vaticanism have also been collected and published in two volumes.

Of the "Gleanings of Past Years," perhaps the essay of most

interest to us as Americans is that entitled "Kin beyond Sea," which originally appeared in the *North American Review* in 1878. Mr. Gladstone was most severely taken to task for this essay, as he had declared in it that America would ultimately become "the head servant in the great household of the world," and that England would do well to prepare herself in time for the loss of this position.

Mr. Gladstone's style as a writer can hardly be called an attractive one; it "looks fatiguing." But the force of his words is such that we are carried along in spite of ourselves; the untiring energy and earnestness of the man become infectious; and we are hurried along on a swift stream of thought, where we had supposed we would find it hard work to row.

In the midst of profound research and scholarly thought, of the statesman's anxious cares and the financier's close calculations, the great Liberal never shut himself away from his kind. A discerning writer says of his social qualities:

"He is as merry as a child when acting host or being a private guest. But however gay his talk, there is always a pervading dignity in his bearing and language, and no one will ever presume to be familiar with him. Lowell says, you remember, that John Milton was not a man to be slapped on the back. Neither is Gladstone. You may laugh at his jest, and return anecdote for anecdote to his gleeful satisfaction. But no man ever saw him out of that noble suavity which becomes so well his age, his rank in the world of state-craft and of letters, and his achievements in both.

"His conversational capacity is evidently boundless. Having a memory almost phenomenal in range and tenacity, he draws upon it as gaily as a vintner upon his cellar; and like wine, the oldest stock is often the most delicious. He can summon personal recollections of interesting men in all walks of life with spontaneous accuracy; and only those who have heard him at the table, when all political care was dismissed for the day, can credit the amazing range of his acquaintance with the curious and picturesque life of England wholly apart from his politics."

The same writer says: "The untaught rustic winding his long whip over a team of oxen down the highway would look with impulsive pleasure upon a man in his shirt sleeves hacking away at

the solid trunk of a giant oak ; but the moment he saw the axeman's eyes, the moment the lithe, strong body of the chopper assumed an upright pose, even he would pull off his hat and silently acknowledge the presence of a man of power."

This, however, is something of an exaggeration ; for it is a well-attested fact that Mr. Gladstone once received a practical lesson in chopping from a peasant who did not recognize him, and who was not at all satisfied with the great man's way of going to work ; nor was his ignorance dispelled by his pupil, who humbly received the instructions of the man who could do this and nothing else ; and it is to be presumed that he profited by the lesson.

Though Hawarden Castle is by no means easy of access, being no little distance from the nearest railway station, the roads to which are not always in the best possible condition, it became a very Mecca to political pilgrims ; some of them even coming from Scotland, as well as points nearer by. Indeed, there seems always to have been a sincere admiration in the northern kingdom for this son of her ancient race, who partook of many of the qualities characteristic of the canny Scot ; to such an extent that even one of the Liberal organs once dubbed him " a self-willed old Scotchman."

A correspondent of the *New York Sun* thus describes the end of one of these pilgrimages in 1887 :

" Working away in his library, the old man is told that a crowd is outside, and would be pleased to see him. He drops his pen or book as soon as mental convenience will admit, dons an old hat, seeks Mrs. Gladstone, who throws some light wrap over her shoulders and a veil of black lace or silk netting over her very gray hair, and out they go together like boy and girl. The lawn terrace is eight feet higher than the roadway, and is reached by wooden steps descending from a narrow platform. Standing on this platform, the two Gladstones greet the people, who cheer and cheer and wave hats and handkerchiefs and umbrellas.

" Then, if the old man be hoarse, or not in a mood for talk, Mrs. Gladstone, leaning over the edge of the platform, tells the people in a silvery, clear voice that Mr. Gladstone is delighted to see them, and is thankful for the cordial feeling which has brought them so far, but that, as he is not well, they will kindly excuse him from speaking. Cheers are mingled with expressions of sympathy,

and, if there be not too many of them, Mrs. Gladstone invites them up to the platform, where a patient scene of handshaking is gone through, with smiles on the old man's face and happiness shining out of his glorious old eyes."

We have left till the last the consideration of his character from the religious point of view. Here it seems that we are indeed treading upon holy ground; his mental characteristics, his physical appearance, the actions of his life, the impressions which he has made upon the minds of others, his studies, the measures of his Ministry, even his demeanor in society, and his recreations, may fairly be deemed public property; we have intruded slightly upon his domestic privacy, and now remains the task of describing the altars of the inmost recesses of his spirit.

The college student was reckoned an "enquirer." That is, he was among those thoughtful natures which were not content with the Established Church unless acquaintance with others should prove that it was the best. It was no blind and unreasoning attachment to the Church of his childhood, then, that held Mr. Gladstone; it was a deliberate conviction. His Oxford training never wholly faded from his mind in this respect, so that he always retained a leaning to the High Church party, the bulk of whom are Tories. Wisely discarding politics from his mind in this connection, he held to the course which his conscience approved.

His life was an exemplification of the belief that Christianity is a living, vitalizing force in the individual, and he endeavored practically to illustrate its influence. Nor did he hold himself aloof from those who were in need of help and advice. Even when Prime Minister of England, he has been found in the humblest houses, reading to the sick or dying consolatory passages of Scripture in his soft, melodious tones. His personal charity became proverbial among those who knew him best, and his generosity was never bounded by pecuniary limits.

On Sunday morning, as the bells of Hawarden church rang out upon the heavy autumn air, vigorous pedestrians might be observed marching up the hill, their dusty raiment and shining countenances proclaiming that their walk had been a long one. This determination toward Hawarden as a place of devotion was not owing to a dearth of churches in the neighborhood. There are churches at

Mold and elsewhere ; but in none of these were the lessons read in the sonorous tones of the ex-Premier of England.

These church-goers saw a group come in sight from the opposite direction ; foremost would be the venerable couple, who had shared life for more than fifty years ; following them, those of their children who had remained with them, or who had returned home for a visit ; with, perhaps, a representative of the rising generation in the person of a grandchild. They would pause at the entrance to the church, to greet those who had waited for such an opportunity ; there would, perhaps, be a word or two with the rector, Rev. Stephen Gladstone, and then the service would begin.

More profound than the great Premier's scholarship, more conspicuous than his commanding genius, more controlling than his consecration to the welfare of his country, was his life-long devotion to his sense of religious duty and to the high ideal of Christian manhood, which always stood before him like the cross of Constantine, painted on the sky, and which allured his gaze and inspired his most earnest endeavors.

CHAPTER XVII.

MR. GLADSTONE'S DEATH AND OBSEQUIES.

Mr. Gladstone in the South of France—Return from Cannes—Signs of Growing Weakness—Peaceful Death—Universal Demonstrations of Grief—Telegrams of Sympathy—Adjournment of the House of Commons—The Queen and Prince of Wales Express Their Sympathy—Tributes from the Newspaper Press—Telegram from the Government of the United States—Estimate of Mr. Gladstone by Prominent Americans—Lying in State at Westminster—Great Throngs of People View the Remains—Remarkable Demonstration at Mr. Gladstone's Funeral—Burial in Westminster Abbey.

MR. GLADSTONE'S exceptionally strong constitution prevented any serious illness or any rumor of failure or decay until the close of his eighty-eighth year. On November 21, 1897, a rumor circulated in London of a sudden breaking up, startlingly reminded the world of the possibility of his removal. Insomnia was generally stated to be his chief trouble, but the confident contradictions from the family allayed the first dread fears. It was said at this time his mind was as keen as ever, but that he was more feeble on account of his sedentary life.

Mr. Gladstone started for Cannes in company with Mrs. Gladstone, Miss Gladstone and Mr. Henry Gladstone on November 26, breaking the journey at Folkestone and Paris. He felt no ill effects from the journey, and it was announced at this time that the neuralgia with which he had been troubled had diminished. His sojourn at Cannes for two months was quiet, and varying reports from time to time left the general impression that the aged Premier was being benefited. Great was the surprise, therefore, when on January 20 it was announced that Mr. Gladstone's condition was causing grave anxiety, and that his sojourn had not had the desired effect.

The former Premier returned on February 19, and although arrangements were made at Calais for two men to carry him from the train to the boat, he insisted on walking the distance of about

thirty yards. His changed and tottering appearance was the subject of general remark. Arrived at Charing Cross, many of the aged Premier's friends awaited him, and he was driven to Carlton House Terrace, his son's residence. After remaining in London for a few days he was medically advised to go to Bournemouth, and Lord Vernon placed his beautiful residence at Mr. Gladstone's disposal.

No benefit accrued. On March 6th he stopped all work, and his friends read or played to him. He was taken home on March 20th. Later it was announced that he was about to undergo an operation for necrosis of the bone of the nose from which he had been suffering. Day by day he got weaker and weaker, and in the early part of April took to his bed. At times during the month he suffered violent twinges of neuralgic pain, but in the early days of May a general renewal of strength, and frequent injections of morphine under the tongue relieved him.

His state during the few days preceding his death was one of great weakness, the patient remaining silent in a semi-comatose state. From time to time he roused to give his benediction to his friends, and the week before he died he bade a pathetic farewell to two of his most trusted colleagues and friends—Lord Rosebery and Mr. John Morley.

On May 18th Mr. Gladstone was slowly dying at his castle at Hawarden. His physician said in the afternoon, "The end is now near. He breathes heavily for a few minutes, and then his breathing is hardly perceptible. Mrs. Gladstone is with her dying husband. She and others of the family do not leave the room for more than a few minutes at a time."

Shortly after nine o'clock in the evening he rallied a little and slept calmly. It was believed he would pass away during the period of rest. At a quarter past eleven o'clock, however, this bulletin was issued: "Mr. Gladstone's condition is unchanged. The slight rally is maintained and he is sleeping peacefully." He was still sleeping at an early hour in the morning, and the family, anticipating the end, watched at his bedside.

His pulse was hardly perceptible at the wrists and his extremities were cold. When offered medicine at half-past four o'clock, Mr. Gladstone exclaimed: "No, no." Apart from this he seldom

spoke except to commence a prayer. He was practically unconscious. The attending physician said: "It is a strange fact that when addressed in English Mr. Gladstone murmurs a few words in French, and sometimes seems to be trying to pray in French. He has had very serious attacks of the heart in the last forty-eight hours, and there has been an altogether very rapid failure. He lies partially unconscious, is delirious and has what is medically called changed stroke in breathing. He is no longer in pain."

An official bulletin which was issued at five o'clock on the afternoon of the 18th, said: "Mr. Gladstone has taken a serious turn for the worst. His death may be expected in twenty-four hours." All the servants of the household were admitted to the sick room late in the evening for a final farewell. They found Mr. Gladstone lying on his right side, in deep sleep, as if dead. Each in turn touched his hand and left the room tearfully.

The deepest manifestations of grief over the death of Mr. Gladstone were reported throughout the country. Flags were everywhere half masted, the bells were tolled and in the public galleries of London the pictures of Mr. Gladstone were draped with crape. The Queen and the Prince of Wales received an early intimation of the sad news, and immediately sent touching expressions of condolence to the widow.

Further details from Hawarden Castle of the passing away of the great English statesman showed that his end was the most peaceful imaginable. There was no sign of pain or distress. Mrs. Gladstone clasped her husband's hand and occasionally kissed it, while the Rev. Stephen Gladstone read prayers and repeated hymns. The only other evidence that Mr. Gladstone realized his surroundings was when his son recited the Litany. Then the dying man feebly murmured "Amen." This was the last word spoken by Mr. Gladstone.

Very many telegrams of sympathy arrived at Hawarden Castle. Among them was one from President Faure expressing his condolences. Another, from United States Ambassador Hay, addressed to the Right Hon. Herbert Gladstone, said: "I beg to present to all your family my heartfelt expression of sympathy at your personal loss, and at the same time to reverently congratulate you and the English race everywhere upon the glorious completion of a life

filled with splendid achievements and consecrated to the noblest purposes."

The House of Commons was crowded during the day following Mr. Gladstone's death, and when the Speaker, Mr. William Court Gully, called upon the government leader, Mr. A. J. Balfour, the First Lord of the Treasury, all present uncovered their heads. Mr. Balfour said: "I think it will be felt in all parts of the House that we should, by adjourning, do fitting honor to the great man whose long and splendid career closed to-day.

"This is not the occasion for uttering the thoughts which naturally suggest themselves. That occasion will present itself to-morrow, when it will be my duty to submit to the House an address to the Queen, praying her to grant the honor of a public funeral, if such honor is not inconsistent with the expressed wishes of himself or of those who have a right to speak in his behalf, and also praying the Queen to direct that a public monument be erected at Westminster with an inscription expressive of the public admiration, attachment and high sense entertained by the House of Mr. Gladstone's rare and splendid gifts and devoted labors in Parliament and in the high offices of State. Before actually moving the adjournment I have to propose a formal resolution that the House to-morrow resolve itself into committee to draw up an address, the contents of which I have just indicated."

After a word of assent from Sir William Vernon Harcourt, the liberal leader, the resolution was adopted and the House adjourned.

All the Continental papers published tributes to Mr. Gladstone. The French papers were especially sympathetic, and the Greek newspapers expressed their deep gratitude for what Mr. Gladstone did for Greece.

Public opinion in England was profoundly stirred by the death of Mr. Gladstone. A member of the Cabinet, in the course of a long interview, said: "It is difficult to find words adequate to express one's feelings at such an event. The disappearance of such a central figure is a tremendous loss. In Parliament and throughout the country his influence over our public life was unparalleled."

All the papers came out with special editions with heavy, black borders, announcing the death of Mr. Gladstone. The *Daily Chronicle* headed its editorial with a quotation from Wordsworth:

"This is the happy warrior; this is he;
That every man in arms should wish to be."

The editorial said: "A glorious light has been extinguished in the land. Mr. Gladstone is dead; and all his life lies in the past, a memory to us and our children, an inspiration and possession forever. The end has come as to a soldier at his post. It found him calm, expectant, faithful, unshaken. Death has come robed in the terrors of mortal pain; but what better can be said than that as he taught his fellows how to live, so he has taught them how to die? It is impossible at this hour to survey the mighty range of this splendid life."

The *Daily News* said: "We cannot help dwelling upon the opinions which Mr. Gladstone held most strongly and the sentiments which he felt most deeply, because they are the only key which unlocks his character and his life. One of his most characteristic qualities was his personal humanity. He was not easy to persuade. He paid little attention to other people's opinions when his mind was made up. He was quite aware of his own ascendancy in counsel and his supremacy in debate. On other questions he did, indeed, instruct his own judgment. On politics he did not; but the secret of his humility was an abiding sense that these things were of no importance compared with the relations between God's creatures and their Creator."

The *Standard* said: "Whether men agreed with him or differed from him in matters of party politics, they could not come within the range of his influence as an administrator without being profoundly impressed alike with his extraordinary powers of despatching public business most efficiently and his absolute devotion to what he believed to be the highest interests of his country."

The formal sympathy of the United States government was embodied in the cablegram of the Secretary of State to Ambassador Hay, as follows:

"Through appropriate channels express to Mr. Gladstone's family the sympathy and sorrow of the American people at the passing away in the ripeness of years and fulness of honors of one of the most notable figures of modern civil statesmanship."

Cardinal Gibbons spoke as follows concerning the great statesman: "Posterity will rank Gladstone among the few great states-

men of the nineteenth century. Sixty years ago, when he was only thirty years of age, Macaulay, in the *Edinburgh Review*, predicted the political eminence which Gladstone would attain. That prediction has been amply fulfilled. His chief claim to gratitude and greatness is found in his advocacy of home rule, because the measure was so unpopular with the majority of his countrymen."

Hon. John Sherman said: "Mr. Gladstone, while living, was regarded by the American people as a statesman of the highest grade in this century; honorable in private life, patriotic as an Englishman, and just to the people of the many countries with whom he had diplomatic relations. I knew him personally, and had some correspondence with him. He was, without limitation, a pure and honorable man, and his memory should be treasured by every Englishman and American."

Another tribute came from former Senator Edmunds: "Mr. Gladstone was a really great man, from the force and independence of his own character, rather than from the accident of birth or fortune. Thus fortified, he changed his opinion when he was convinced, not fearing the temper of critics. His labors have been on the whole of great benefit to the cause of free thought and better social and political conditions."

Ex-President Harrison said: "There were but a few men in Gladstone's class. He had a rare combination of accomplishments—a statesman, an orator and a scholar—and in all three those of the first grade. When we add to these the gifts of serene faith, the purest home virtues and wide benevolence, we have a man whose knighthood is recorded in a choicer list than that of the British peerage."

United States Senator Lodge spoke as follows: "The death of Mr. Gladstone takes from the world one of the greatest figures of this century. Whether one agreed with him or not, nobody could fail to admire the marvellous vitality, the noble eloquence, which never failed, the eager sympathy with every oppressed people, the fertility and resource in every field of public life, which have for so many years engaged the attention of the world, which made Mr. Gladstone one of the greatest statesmen of his time, and which will cause mourning for his death by all English-speaking people."

Mr. Gladstone's body was removed from Hawarden Castle to

London, where it lay in state in order that the multitude of his friends and admirers might pay a last tribute of respect to the illustrious dead. Remarkably impressive scenes were witnessed at Westminster when the arrivals commenced of those anxious to view the remains. The line formed was continually augmented by all classes of people, from peers, peeresses, Cabinet Ministers, members of the House of Commons, military and naval officers and clergymen to costermongers, old and young, until at six o'clock in the morning, when the doors were opened, the procession commenced to stream past the catafalque.

By ten o'clock it was computed that one hundred persons to the minute were passing the body, and at noon over 40,000 people had already taken a last glance at the face of the great statesman. Sir William Vernon Harcourt, the liberal leader in the House of Commons, who arrived at noon, was greatly moved, so great was the popular demonstration of sorrow.

As the afternoon advanced the unending stream lengthened. About two thousand policemen were engaged in guiding the people, and by three o'clock 75,000 persons had passed the coffin.

On May 28th the body of England's greatest man, William E. Gladstone, was laid in the Valhalla of his race. Military pomp and the outward trappings of pageantry were absent, but the ceremony was glorified by the homage of his greatest surviving contemporaries and by the sentiment of universal reverence expressed in the outspoken gratitude of a free people. His grave is beside that of his life-long adversary, Benjamin Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield), whose marble effigy looks down upon it, decked with the regalia which Gladstone had refused.

Whatever meagreness in grandeur there was during the lying in state there was none about the funeral. In every respect that ceremony was impressive, lofty, dignified. This was fitting to the funeral of one who, after all, was essentially civilian. There were no nodding plumes, no mighty procession, for the coffin was carried on a simple funeral carriage and the distance between Westminster Hall and Westminster Abbey in but a few steps. But the people, as during the lying in state, were an impressive sight. Every spot on which the eye rested swarmed with human beings. They peeped at you from the windows of the hospital, from the roofs of houses.

Everybody nearly was dressed in black, and there was the same unbroken sombreness in demeanor which has been so characteristic of the past few days. The unbroken silence of this vast multitude added immensely to one's sense of the magnitude and solemnity of the occasion.

The procession of the members of Parliament formed in the House of Commons as early as 9.30 o'clock. The chamber presented an appearance at once curious and impressive. There must have been four hundred members present, and considering the holidays have already begun, this was marvellous. It is said not a single Liberal member was absent, except invalids, and Gladstone's opponents, the Tories, were also fully represented. The Irish members were some forty strong, a very considerable number, considering that it is vacation time and the present conditions of the party.

Mr. Dillon sat in his usual place, and close beside him were the men who are most closely associated with his leadership. Among them was Mr. Blake, one of the most impressive figures of the day, with his tall stature, clear-cut features and look of distinction. None of the Parnellites were present, nor was Mr. Healy. Everybody in the House was in the deepest black, and the House looked to some extent like a funeral chamber. There was just one bit of color. The serjeant-at-arms had around his neck a silver-colored tie, with white bows, a curious and an unusual addition to his uniform.

When the Speaker entered there was a surprise in store for the House, which saw its sombreness at least broken by a splendid bit of color, for the Speaker appeared for the first time in our recollection in full, gorgeous robes. He wore a black gown, richly embroidered with gold lace, a garment that seemed at once sternly simple and brilliantly rich, and that added greatly to the impressiveness of his handsome face and fine figure. After considerable delay the Speaker rose, and at once every member was on his feet, and then the serjeant-at-arms, placing his mace on his shoulder, with the chaplain and attendants, formed into procession, followed by the members present and the late Government and members of the Privy Council, a dignity frequently bestowed upon political supporters whom the Government find it impossible to otherwise reward.

The Irishmen had resolved to walk by themselves, so as to distinguish their group from the rest. Mr. Dillon was to give them the signal, and just as the other members were leaving the House he rose from his place and the Irish members followed his lead. The procession slowly wended its way to Westminster Hall, where the coffin lay, still giving that impression of smallness, remoteness and loneliness in the vast hall. There was a look for a second as the members passed the coffin, but no pause, and slowly but regularly the procession passed on until it got into open air again. Then the great majority of the members put on their hats; but some of the Irishmen, and especially those who walked in the first four with Mr. Dillon, kept uncovered throughout, as more in accord with the sense of pathos and the solemnity of the occasion. Some few of the English members did the same thing.

The crowd pressed close to see the procession as it passed, but whatever he felt, the Londoner held his tongue. The same impressive, solemn, unbroken silence continued as the procession wound its way onward.

The procession moved in the following order :

Four heralds in court dress bearing the arms.

The Speaker, the Right Hon. William Court Gully; clerks and officers of the House of Commons, in robes and wigs, carrying the mace.

Four hundred members of the House of Commons, marching four abreast and wearing frock coats and high hats, with the solitary and conspicuous exception of John Burns, the labor leader, who wore his usual derby hat and short coat.

Four heralds escorting half a dozen privy councillors, not members of Parliament.

More heralds ushering the officers of the House of Lords.

The Lord Chancellors in their robes, with a mace bearer.

Two hundred members of the House of Lords, attired like the members of the House of Commons, with the exception of the bishops, who wore robes.

Then came a group of members of Mr. Gladstone's last Ministry, followed by representatives of various royal families and the foreign Ambassadors, including Colonel John Hay, the United States Ambassador.

Next the Duke of Cambridge and the Duke of Connaught, escorted by equerries, and the Earl of Pembroke, representing the Queen.

Then came the funeral car, plainly draped with black and drawn by two horses, preceded by the Earl Marshal of the Kingdom, the Duke of Norfolk, the supporters of the pall walking beside the car.

After the car walked Stephen Gladstone, the chief mourner, and the near relatives and friends.

The only sound that broke the silence while the cortege passed was a broken voice which shouted: "God give ye rest, old man!" In the meanwhile the tolling of the Abbey bell had notified the waiting assemblage within the edifice that the procession was approaching.

Mrs. Gladstone, supported on the arms of her sons, Herbert and Stephen, and other members of the family were grouped about the grave. The dean read the appointed sentence committing the body to the earth, and the Archbishop of Canterbury pronounced the benediction.

Mrs. Gladstone stood bravely, with great composure, throughout the service. Her face was lifted upward and her lips were moving as though repeating the lines of the service. She also kept standing during the only official feature of the service, "The Proclamation by Garter of the Style of the Deceased," as the official programme had it. The Garter enumerated the various offices which Mr. Gladstone had held in his lifetime, beginning with "Sometime Privy Councillor" and ending "Envoy Extraordinary to the Ionian Islands."

The organ then played the "Dead March" in "Saul." Finally the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York and other pall-bearers shook hands with Mrs. Gladstone, the mourners defiled past the grave, taking a last view of the coffin, and, when they had been escorted down the nave to the entrance, the people slowly departed. Memorial services in honor of Mr. Gladstone were held all over England.

The ceremony in the case of the House of Lords was practically the same. The Lord Chancellor, who is the Speaker of that assembly, unlike the Speaker of the House of Commons, was not

in full dress. He wore his great wig, and the serjeant-at-arms carried the brazen mace, the emblem of royal authority; and there was the usual retinue of pursebearer and trainbearer, and other officials that form his little court.

The attendance of peers was on as great a scale as that of the Commoners. This was wonderful testimony to the universality of grief over Mr. Gladstone's death, as he was not a favorite with that body, and his very last speech in the House of Commons was delivered in opposition to their claims. The pall-bearers, who walked on each side of the coffin, were perhaps the personages who attracted the most attention during the day.

The sight of the Prince of Wales and his son and heir doing honor to the leader of the great popular Liberal forces was sufficient to excite comment and curiosity, but, in addition, the leaders of the Tory party, in both houses of Parliament, were joined in the same homage. Lord Salisbury was a picturesque figure in his way—massive in height, still more massive in weight and heavily stooped, he added to the impressiveness of his massiveness and to the curiousness of his appearance by wearing a small black-velvet skullcap.

A country with such a vast system of class distinction and old institutions as England cannot be without picturesqueness or difference or color on ever so studiously simple an occasion as this. Several times the eye was caught by the sight of a beautiful patch of color; choir-boys dressed in scarlet tunics, gorgeous footmen with powdered hair and other indications of this land of opulence, magnificence and caste; but the prevalent color was sombre.

The abbey was filled in most parts, though there was no overcrowding, and there was something almost oppressive in those tremendous rows of women all dressed in the same deep universal black—black gowns, black jackets, black hats, black feathers, black gloves. There was something almost like relief in the white surplices of the ecclesiastics. Through the dim-lighted nave the different processions took their slow, solemn way.

In due order the two houses of Parliament faced each other in the galleries erected for the occasion, and in the space left between them was the open grave in the floor of the Abbey, waiting to receive its illustrious occupant. There was something that resembled

a great theatrical performance in this arrangement of the two houses and the spectators in their long tiers of galleries around the grave. But the sombreness of colors, the dim light that came in through the windows and the hosts of ecclesiastics soon banished this idea, and the whole ceremonial was solemn, beautiful. In the centre of each gallery was a presiding officer with the mace beside him. Each speaker seemed to be a sort of core to the galleries, its central most prominent figure. Down below one caught a sight of the pallbearers as they stood around the small and simple coffin.

Looking a little closer you saw a number of people that you began slowly to recognize as members of the bereaved family. There was a thrill and a hush, though no spoken exclamation as the devoted wife walked to her place, leaning on the arms of her two sons—one, Stephen, the rector of his ancestral home, Hawarden; the other, Henry, an East Indian merchant.

Behind them came Herbert Gladstone, the only son who has adopted a political career, and in his charge were a number of young people, boys and girls, who looked sweet and touching in their mourning, and with the innocent interest in all that was going on.

The choir of Westminster Abbey is fine at any time, but for this occasion special arrangement had been made, and there was a recruiting of the best voices from several other choirs of the metropolis. The result was to win general praise for the beauty, harmony and perfection of the music. The selection of hymns for the occasion was according to the tastes of the Grand Old Man himself. It is known that Newman's hymn, "Praise to Holiest in the Highest," was his favorite, and this hymn found a prominent place in the music of the day. "Rock of Ages" was also one of Gladstone's favorites, so much so that he made a Latin translation of it which was printed in the programme beside the English words.

The musical selections were typical of all such ceremonies, that is to say, there was a mixture of inevitable sadness, death and parting, of the joy founded on hopes of a blessed immortality. At one time the music fell to a low, solemn, tender whisper; then again you heard the trombones resound through the vast building, giving a sense of joy and exaltation, of final victory over death and corrup-

tion that had a most startling and at the same time most thrilling effect upon the imagination.

There was no sermon. It would have been too small in the great proportions of the ceremony and surroundings. The great Epistle of St. Paul with its final pean of victory over death was read; but the voice of the reader was partially lost in the vast space and those always impressive words sounded almost weak and intrusive. When the lesson had been read and the last hymn, "Oh, God! Our Help in Ages Past," had been sung, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his loud, almost harsh, voice, pronounced the final benediction.

The "Dead March" from "Saul" and the "Messe Solennelle" of Schubert were played as the congregation slowly wended its way out. The crowds were there, and the sunshine and the already impatient throb of the great metropolis, to resume its feverish, hurried life; and so the great Legislature, in which Gladstone had reigned as a foremost figure for nearly sixty years, paid its last farewell.

The pathos of Mr. Gladstone's funeral centered around the grief-stricken figure of his aged and devoted wife. The shock of his death lightened for a time at least the clouds that had begun to darken her mind, and spared her the pain of realizing her beloved husband's sufferings.

A moment of sublime emotion, bringing tears to all eyes in that unique gathering of princes, divines and statesmen gathered round the grave of England's greatest citizen, was when the widow supported lovingly by her two weeping sons, tottered feebly, her frame shaken with heart-broken sobs, to the brink of the grave, and cast a long, lingering look of anguish at the casket containing the mortal remains of her illustrious husband.

When the stricken woman turned away and sank back into her chair, the Prince of Wales, inspired by one of those touches of fine feeling which account so largely for his popularity, took Mrs. Gladstone's hand in his, and, with a whispered word of consolation, kissed it reverently. The other pall-bearers all followed this manly example, providing a spontaneous demonstration of sympathy more affecting than any state pageant ever devised.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MR. GLADSTONE ON THE ARMENIAN QUESTION.

Not a Party Question—The Resolutions—Dreadful Words to Speak—Witnesses to the Massacres—Report of Dr. Dillon—Plunder, Murder, Rape, and Torture—Responsibility of the Turkish Government—The Turk Ought to March Out of Armenia—What is to Become of Christians in the Turkish Empire?—Sad and Terrible Story.

IT will interest the reader to peruse some of Mr. Gladstone's famous speeches in the exact form in which they were delivered. We have therefore made selections from his addresses which not only embrace the most important subjects and such as occupied public thought and attention at the time, but have also endeavored to make such selections as will show the variety of topics which he discussed and the masterly manner in which he treated them.

A meeting was held in the Town Hall, Chester, England, on the 6th of August, 1895, for the purpose of discussing the claims of the Armenians in Turkey. The assembly room at the Town Hall was crowded to excess, and many thousands of persons had to be refused admission.

The Duke of Westminster presided, and among those present were a great number of members of Parliament.

Mr. Gladstone, who was received with prolonged cheers, said :—My Lord Duke, my Lords, and Ladies and Gentlemen,—My first observation shall be a repetition of what has already been said by the noble Duke, who has assured you that this meeting is not a meeting called in the interests of any party (hear, hear), or having the smallest connection with those differences of opinion which naturally and warrantably in this free country will spring up in a complex state of affairs, dividing us on certain questions man from man. (Hear, hear.)

But, my Lord Duke, it is satisfactory to observe that freedom of opinion and even these divisions themselves upon certain questions give increased weight and augmented emphasis to the concurrence

of the people to the cordial agreement of the whole nation in these matters where the broad principles of common humanity and common justice prevail. (Cheers.)

It is perfectly true that the Government whose deeds we have to impeach is a Mahometan Government, and it is perfectly true that the sufferers under those outrages, under those afflictions, are Christian sufferers. The Mahometan subjects of Turkey suffer a great deal, but what they suffer is only in the way of the ordinary excesses and defects of an intolerably bad Government—perhaps the worst on the face of the earth. (Hear, hear.) That which we have now to do is, I am sorry to say, the opening up of an entirely new chapter. It is not a question of indifferent laws indifferently enforced. It is not a question of administrative violence and administrative abuse. It cuts further and goes to the root of all that concerns human life in its elementary conditions.

But this I will say, that if, instead of dealing with the Turkish Government, and impeaching it for its misdeeds towards Christian subjects, we were dealing with a Christian Government that was capable of similar misdeeds towards Mahometan subjects, our indignation ought to be not less, but greater, than it is now. (Cheers.) Well, I will take the liberty of reading a resolution which has been placed in my hands, and which seems to me to express with firmness, but with moderation, the opinions which I am very confident this meeting will entertain, and this meeting, in entertaining such opinions, is but the representative of the country at large. (Cheers.)

Allow me to go further and to say that the country at large in entertaining these ideas is only a representative of civilized humanity, and I will presume to speak on the ground, in part, of personal knowledge; I will presume to speak of the opinions and sympathies that are entertained in that part which is most remote from Armenia—I mean among our own Transatlantic brethren of the United States. If possible, the sentiment in America entertained on the subject of these recent occurrences is even more vivid and even stronger, if it can be, than that which beats in the hearts of the people of this country.

The terms of the resolution are as follows:

“That this meeting expresses its conviction that her Majesty’s

Government will have the cordial support of the entire nation, without distinction of party, in any measures which it may adopt for securing to the people of Turkish Armenia such reforms in the administration of that province as shall provide effective guarantees for the safety of life, honor, religion, and property, and that no reforms can be effective which are not placed under the continuous control of the Great Powers of Europe." (Cheers.)

That means, without doubt, the great Powers of Europe, all who choose to combine, and those great Powers which happily have combined and have already, in my judgment, pledged their honor, as well as their power, to the attainment of the object we have in view. (Cheers.)

Now, it was my fate, I think some six or more months ago, to address a very limited number, not a public assembly, but a limited number of Armenian gentlemen, and gentlemen interested in Armenia, on this subject; and at that time I ventured to point out that one of our duties was to avoid premature judgments.

There was no authoritative and impartial declaration before the world at that period on the subject of what is known as the Sassoun massacre; that massacre to which the noble duke has alluded, and with respect to which, horrible as that massacre was, one of the most important witnesses in this case declares that it is thrown into the shade, and has become pale and ineffective by the side of the unspeakable horrors which are being enacted from month to month, from week to week, and day to day, in the different provinces of Armenia. (Cheers.)

It was a duty to avoid premature judgment, and I think it was avoided. There was a great reserve; but at last the engine of dispassionate inquiry was brought to bear, and then it was found that another duty, very important in general in these cases, really in this particular instance had no particular place at all, and though it is a duty to avoid exaggeration—a most sacred duty—it is a duty that has little or no place in the case before us, because it is too well known that the powers of language hardly suffice to describe what has been and is being done, and that exaggeration, if we were ever so much disposed to it, is in such a case really beyond our power. (Cheers.)

Those are dreadful words to speak. It is a painful office to per-

form, and nothing but a strong sense of duty could gather us together between these walls or could induce a man of my age, and a man who is not wholly without other difficulties to contend with, to resign for the moment that repose and quietude which are the last of many great earthly blessings remaining to him, in order to invite you to enter into a consideration of this question—I will not say in order to invite you to allow yourselves to be flooded with the sickening details that it involves.

I shall not attempt to lead you into that dreadful field, but I make this appeal to you. I do hope that every one of you will for himself and herself endeavor, in such a degree as your position may allow of you, to endeavor to acquire some acquaintance with them (hear, hear), because I know that, when I say that a case of this kind puts exaggeration out of the question, I am making a very broad assertion, which would in most cases be violent, which would in all ordinary cases be unwarrantable.

But those who will go through the process I have described, or even a limited portion of the process, will find that the words are not too strong for the occasion. (Cheers.) What witnesses ought we to call before us? I should be disposed to say that it matters very little what witnesses you call. So far as the character of the testimony you will receive is concerned, the witnesses are all agreed. At the time that I have just spoken of, six or eight months ago, they were private witnesses.

Since that time, although we have not seen the detailed documents of public authority, yet we know that all the broader statements which had been made up to that time and which have made the blood of this nation run cold have been confirmed and verified. They have not been overstated, not withdrawn, not qualified, not reduced, but confirmed in all their breadth, in all their horrible substance, in all their sickening details. (Hear, hear.)

And here I may say that it is not merely European witnesses with whom we have to deal. We have American witnesses also in the field, and the testimony of the American witnesses is the same as that of the European; but it is of still greater importance, and for this reason—that everybody knows that America has no separate or sinister political interest of any kind in the affairs of the Levant.

She comes into court perfectly honest and perfectly unsuspected, and that which she says possesses on that account a double weight. I will not refer to the witnesses in particular, as I have been told you will receive a statement by my reverend friend, Canon McColl, who is one of them (cheers); but I believe they are absolutely agreed, that there is no shade of difference prevailing among them.

I will refer to the last of these witnesses, one whom I must say I am disposed to name with honor: it is Dr. Dillon (cheers), whose name has appeared within the last three or four days at the foot of an article of unusual length—Ah! and good were the reasons for extending it to an unusual length—in the *Contemporary Review*. (Cheers.) Perhaps you will ask, as I asked, “Who is Dr. Dillon?” and I am able to describe him to his honor.

Dr. Dillon is a man who, as the special commissioner of the *Daily Telegraph* newspaper, some months ago, with care and labor, and with the hazard of his life (hear, hear), went into Turkey, laudably making use of a disguise for the purpose, and went into Armenia, so that he might make himself thoroughly master of the facts. (Cheers.) He published his results before any public authority had given utterance to its judgments, and those results which he, I rather think, was the first to give to the world in a connected shape—at any rate he was very early in the field—those results have been completely confirmed and established by the inquiries of the delegates appointed by the three Powers—England, France and Russia. (Cheers.)

I say he has, at the risk of his life, acquired a title to be believed, and here he gives us an account which bears upon it all the marks of truth, but which, at the same time that we must believe it to be true, you would say is hardly credible. Unhappily some of those matters which are not credible do, in this strange and wayward world of ours, turn out to be true; and here it is hardly credible that there can dwell in the human form a spirit of such intense and diabolical wickedness as is unhappily displayed in some of the narratives Dr. Dillon has laid before the world.

I shall not quote from them in detail, though I mean to make a single citation, which will be a citation, if I may say so, rather of principle than of detail. I shall not quote the details, but I

will say to you that when you begin to read them you will see the truth of what I just now said—namely, that we are not dealing at all with a common and ordinary question of abuses of government or the defects of them. We are dealing with something that goes far deeper, far wider, and that imposes upon us and upon you far heavier obligations.

The whole substance of this remarkable article—and it agrees, as I have said, with the testimony of the other witnesses—I am quoting it because it is the latest—the whole substance of this article may be summed up in four awful words—plunder, murder, rape and torture. (“Shame.”) Every incident turns upon one or upon several of those awful words. Plunder and murder you would think are bad enough, but plunder and murder are almost venial by the side of the work of the ravisher and the work of the torturer, as it is described in those pages, and as it is now fully and authentically known to be going on.

I will keep my word, and I will not be tempted by—what shall I say?—the dramatic interest attached to such exaggeration of human action as we find here to travel into the details of the facts. They are fitter for private perusal than they are for public discussion. I will not be tempted to travel into them; I will ask you for a moment, any of you who have not yourselves verified the particulars of the case, to credit me with speaking the truth, until I go on to consider who are the doers of these deeds.

In all ordinary cases, when we have before us instances of crime, perhaps of very horrible crime—for example, there is a sad story in the papers to-day of a massacre in a portion of China—we at once assume that in all countries, unfortunately, there are malefactors, there are plunderers whose deeds we are going to consider.

Here, my Lord Duke, it is nothing of the kind; we have nothing to do here with what are called the dangerous classes of the community; it is not their proceedings which you are asked to consider; it is the proceedings of the Government of Constantinople and its agents. (Cheers.)

There is not one of these misdeeds for which the Government of Constantinople is not morally responsible. (Cheers.) Now, who are these agents? Let me tell you very briefly. They fall into three classes. The first have been mentioned by the noble duke—

namely, the savage Kurds, who are, unhappily, the neighbors of the Armenians, the Armenians being the representatives of one of the oldest civilized Christian races, and being, beyond all doubt, one of the most pacific, one of the most industrious, and one of the most intelligent races in the world. (Cheers.)

These Kurds are by them ; they are wild, savage clans. There was but one word, my Lord Duke, in your address that I should have been disposed to literally criticise, and it was the expression that fell from you that the Sultan had "organized" these Kurds. They are, in my belief, in no sense organized—that is to say, there is no more organization among them than is to be found, say, in a band of robbers ; they have no other organization, being nothing but a band of robbers. (Cheers.)

These the Sultan and the Government at Constantinople have enrolled, though in a nominal fashion, not without military discipline, into pretended cavalry regiments and then set them loose with the authority of soldiers of the Sultan to harry and destroy the people of Armenia. (Cheers.) Well, these Kurds are the first of the agents in this horrible business ; the next are the Turkish soldiers, who are in no sense behind the Kurds in their performances ; the third are the peace officers, the police and the tax-gatherers of the Turkish Government ; and there seems to be a deadly competition among all these classes which shall most prove itself an adept in the horrible and infernal work that is before them, but above them all and more guilty than they, are the higher officers of the Turkish Government.

You will find, if you look into this paper of Dr. Dillon's, that at every point he has exposed himself to confutation if what he says is inaccurate or untrue. He gives names, titles, places, dates, every particular which would enable the Turkish Government to track him out and detect him and hold him up to public reprobation.

You will never hear of an answer from the Turkish Government to that article. That may be a bold thing for me to say ; but I am confident you will never hear an answer from them which shall follow these statements of Dr. Dillon's, based on his own personal experience, through the details, and attempt to shake the fabric of previously composed materials which he has built up in the face of the world !

I think there are certain matters, such as those which have been discussed to-day and discussed in many other forms, on which it is perfectly possible to make up our minds. And what I should say is, that the whole position may be summed up in three brief propositions. I do not know to which of these propositions to assign the less or the greater importance. It appears to me that they are probably each and every one of them absolutely indispensable. The first proposition is this, You ought to moderate your demands.

You ought to ask for nothing but that which is strictly necessary, and that possibly according to all that we know of the proposals before, the rule has been rigidly complied with. I do not hesitate to say, ladies and gentlemen, that the cleanest and clearest method of dealing with this subject, if we should have done it, would have been to tell the Turk to march out of Armenia. (Loud cheers.) He has no right to remain there, and it would have been an excellent settlement of the question.

But it is by no means certain that Europe or even the three Powers would have been unanimous in seeking after that end. Therefore, let us part with everything except what is known to be indispensable. Then I come to the other two rules, and of these the first is that you should accept no Turkish promises. (Hear, hear.) They are absolutely and entirely worthless. They are worse than worthless, because they may serve to delude a few persons, who without information or experience, naturally would suppose, when promises are given, that there is something like an intention of fulfillment. Recollect that no scheme is worth having unless it be supported by efficient guarantees entirely outside the promises of the Turkish Government. (Applause.)

There is another word which I must speak, and that is this: Don't be too much afraid if you hear introduced into this discussion a word that I admit, in ordinary cases, ought to be excluded from all diplomatic proceedings, namely, the word coercion. Coercion is a word perfectly well understood in Constantinople, and it is a word highly appreciated in Constantinople. It is a drastic dose—(laughter)—which never fails of its aim when it is administered in that quarter. (Laughter.)

Gentlemen, I would not use these words if I had not myself personally had large and close experience of the proceedings of the

Turkish Government. I say, first make your case good, and when your case is made good, determine that it shall prevail. (Cheers.) Grammar has something to do with this case. Recollect that while the word "ought" sounded in Constantinople, passes in thin air, and has no force or solidity whatever attaching to it; on the contrary, the brother or sister monosyllable, the word "must" is perfectly understood—(cheers)—and it is a known fact supported by positive experience, which can be verified upon the map of Europe, that a timely and judicious use of this word never fails in its effect. (Cheers.)

Gentlemen, I must point out to you that we have reached a very critical position, indeed. How are three great Governments in Europe, ruling a population of more than two hundred million souls, with perhaps eight or ten times the population of Turkey, with twenty times the wealth of Turkey, with fifty times the influence and power of Turkey, who have committed themselves in this matter before the world, I put it to you that if they recede before an irrational resistance—and remember that I have in the first instance postulated that our demands should be reasonable—if they recede before the irrational resistance of the Sultan and the Ottoman Government, they are disgraced in the face of the world.

Every motive of duty coincides with every motive of self-respect, and, my Lord Duke, you yourself let drop a word which is unhappily not wholly out of place, and that word is extermination.

There has gone abroad—I don't say that I feel myself competent to judge the matter, I don't think I do, but there has gone abroad, and there is widely entertained a belief, that the recent proceedings of the Turkish Government in Armenia particularly, but not in Armenia exclusively, are founded upon deliberate determination to exterminate the Christians in that Empire. I hope it is not true, but at the same time I must say that there are evidences tending to support it—(hear, hear)—and the grand evidence which tends to support it is this: the perfect infatuation of the Turkish Government. Now, in my time there have been periods when Turkey was ruled by men of honesty and ability.

I will say that, until about thirty years ago, you could trust the word of the Turkish Government as well as any Government in Europe; you might not approve of their proceedings, but you

could trust their word; but a kind of judicial infatuation appears to have come down upon them. What has happened in Turkey? To hear of this vaunting on the part of its Government, and this game of brag that is from time to time being played, that it cannot compromise its dignity, it cannot waive any of its rights.

What would come of its rights in one-third part of its empire? Within my lifetime Turkey has been reduced by one-third part of her territory, and sixteen or eighteen millions of people, inhabiting some of the most beautiful and formerly most famous countries in the world, who were under the Ottoman rule, are now as free as we are. (Cheers.)

The Ottoman Government are as well aware of that as we, and yet we find it pursuing these insane courses. On the other hand, my Lord Duke most judiciously referred to the plan of Government that was introduced in the Lebanon about 1861, whereby a reasonable share of stability to local institutions and popular control has been given in Turkey, and the results have been most satisfactory.

There is also a part of the country, although not a very large part, where something like local self-government is permitted, and it has been very hopeful in its character. But when we see these things—on the one hand that these experiments, in a sense of justice, have all succeeded, and that when adapted to the Greeks and the Bulgarians, and four or five other States, have resulted in the loss of those States, then I say that the Turkish Government is evidently in such a state of infatuation that it is fain to believe it may, under certain circumstances, be infatuated enough to scheme the extermination of the Christian population.

Well, this a sad and terrible story, and I have been a very long time in telling it, but a very small part of it; but I hope that, having heard the terms of the resolution that will be submitted to you, you will agree that a case is made out. (Cheers.) I for one, for the sake of avoiding other complications, would rejoice if the Government of Turkey would come to its senses. If only men like Friad Pacha and Ali Pacha, who were in the Government of Turkey after the Crimean War, could be raised from the dead and could inspire the Turkish policy with their spirit and with their principles!

That is, in my opinion, what we ought all to desire, and though

it would be more agreeable to clear Turkey than to find her guilty of these terrible charges, yet, if we have the smallest regard to humanity, if we are sensible at all of what is due to our own honor, after the steps which have been taken within the last twelve or eighteen months, we must interfere. We must be careful to demand no more than what is just—but at least as much as is necessary—and we must be determined that, with the help of God, that which is necessary and that which is just shall be done, whether there will be a response or whether there be none. (Loud cheers.)

CHAPTER XIX.

GLADSTONE ON THE BEACONSFIELD MINISTRY.*

Dissolution of Parliament—Reply to Opponents—A Serious Position—Policy of the Government—Responsible for Other Countries—Turkey a Scandal to the World—Derby and Beaconsfield—Turkey Encouraged to Go to War—Treaties With European Nations—Policy of Austria—Worshippers of Success—Treatment of the Sultan—Tory Government to be Tried by its Principles.

GENTLEMEN—When I last had the honor of addressing you in this Hall, I endeavored, in some degree, to open the great case which I was in hopes would, in conformity with what I may call constitutional usage, then have been brought at once before you. The arguments which we made for a dissolution were received with the usual contempt, and the Parliament was summoned to attempt, for the first time in our history, the regular business of a seventh session. I am not going now to argue on the propriety of this course, because, meeting you here in the capital of the county and of Scotland, I am anxious to go straight to the very heart of the matter, and, amidst the crowd of topics that rush upon the mind, to touch upon some of those which you will judge to be most closely and most intimately connected with the true merits of the great issue that is before us.

At last the dissolution has come, and I postpone the consideration of the question why it has come, the question how it has come, on which there are many things to be said. It has come, and you are about to give your votes upon an occasion which, allow me to tell you, entails not only upon me, but upon you, a responsibility greater than you ever had to undergo. I believe that I have the

* Previous to the date of this address Mr. Gladstone had addressed the electors of Midlothian on three great occasions. He now opened his famous Midlothian Campaign in earnest, taking the Government to task with such tremendous energy as to force his convictions upon the people. The place of meeting on this occasion was the Music Hall, Edinburgh, Mr. Duncan McLaren, M. P., presiding.

honor of addressing a mixed meeting, a meeting principally and very largely composed of freeholders of the county, but in which warm and decided friends are freely mingled with those who have not declared in our favor, or even with those who may intend to vote against us.

Now, Gentlemen, let me say a word in the first place to those whom I must for the moment call opponents. I am not going to address them in the language of flattery. I am not going to supplicate them for the conferring of a favor. I am not going to appeal to them on any secondary or any social ground. I am going to speak to them as Scotchmen and as citizens; I am going to speak to them of the duty that they owe to the Empire at this moment; I am going to speak to them of the condition of the Empire, of the strength of the Empire, and of the honor of the Empire; and it is upon these issues that I respectfully ask for their support.

I am glad that, notwithstanding my Scotch blood, and notwithstanding the association of my father and my grandfather with this country, it is open to our opponents, if they like, to describe me as a stranger; because I am free to admit that I stand here in consequence of an invitation, and in consequence of treatment the most generous and the most gratifying that ever was accorded to man. And I venture to assure every one of my opponents, that if I beg respectfully to have some credit for upright motives, that credit I at once accord to them.

I know very well they are not accustomed to hear it given me; I know very well that in the newspapers which they read they will find that violent passion, that outrageous hatred, that sordid greed for office, are the motives, and the only motives, by which I am governed. Many of these papers constitute, in some sense, their daily food; but I have such faith in their intelligence, and in the healthiness of their constitution as Scotchmen, that I believe that many of them will, by the inherent vigor of that constitution, correct and neutralize the poison thus administered; will consent to meet me upon equal grounds, and will listen to the appeal which I make.

The appeal which I make to them is this: If my position here is a serious one, their position is serious, too. My allegations have

been before you for a length of time. I will not now again read to a Midlothian audience the letter in which I first accepted this candidature. By every word of that letter I abide; in support of every allegation which that letter contains, I am ready to bring detailed and conclusive proof. These allegations—I say to you, Gentlemen, to that portion of my audience—these allegations are of the most serious character. I admit, as freely as you can urge, that if they be unfounded, then my responsibility—nay, my culpability—before my country cannot be exaggerated.

But, on the other hand, if these allegations be true—if it be true that the resources of Great Britain have been misused; if it be true that the international law of Europe has been broken; if it be true that the law of this country has been broken; if it be true that the good name of this land has been tarnished and defaced; if it be true that its condition has been needlessly aggravated by measures both useless, and wanton, and mischievous in themselves—then your responsibility is as great as mine. For I fully admit that in 1874 you incurred no great or special responsibility.

You were tired of the Liberal Government; you were dissatisfied with them. [Cries of “No, no!”] Oh, I beg pardon; I am addressing my opponents. Scotchmen, I believe, as much as Englishmen, like plain speaking, and I hope I have given you some proof that if that be your taste I endeavor to meet it as well as I can; and I thank you heartily for the manner in which, by your kindly attention, you have enabled me to say what I think is the truth, whether it be palatable or whether it be not.

Now the great question which we have been debating for the last three or four years—for I do not carry back the pith of what I have principally to say to the six years of the Government—is the question of the policy which has been pursued during that time; most especially by far the policy of the last two years, and the effect of that policy upon the condition of the country, upon the legislation of the country, upon the strength of the Empire, and, above all, upon the honor of the Empire. I am now going to compare the conduct of the present Government, which is commended to you as masterly in forethought and sagacity, and truly English in spirit—I am going to compare it with the conduct of the last Government, and to lay before you the proceedings of the results.

It so happens that their histories are a not inconvenient means of comparison.

England, as you are aware, has been involved in many guarantees. I said England—do not be shocked; it is the shortest word—Great Britain or the United Kingdom is what one ought to say. The United Kingdom—the British Empire has been and is involved in many guarantees for the condition of other countries. Among others, we were involved, especially since the Peace of Paris, but also before the Peace of Paris, in a guarantee for Turkey, aiming to maintain its integrity and its independence; and we were involved in another guarantee for Belgium, aiming to maintain its integrity and its independence. In the time of the present Government the integrity and the independence of Turkey were menaced—menaced by the consequences of rank, festering corruption from within.

In the time of the late Government the integrity and independence of Belgium were not less seriously menaced. We had been living in perfect harmony and friendship with two great Military States of Europe—with Prussia and with France. France and Prussia came into conflict, and at the moment of their coming into conflict a document was revealed to us which the Ministers of those two States had had in their hands. Whoever was its author, whoever was its promoter, that is no affair of mine—it is due to Prince Bismarck to say that he was the person who brought it to light—but they had in their hands an instrument of a formal character, touching a subject that was considered and entertained. And that bad instrument was an instrument for the destruction of the freedom, independence and integrity of Belgium. Could there be a graver danger to Europe than that?

Here was a State—not like Turkey, the scandal of the world, and the danger of the world from misgovernment, and from the horrible degradation it inflicted upon its subject races—but a country which was a marvel to all Europe for the peaceful exercise of the rights of freedom, and for progress in all the arts and all pursuits that tend to make mankind good and happy. And this country, having nothing but its weakness that could be urged against it, with its four or five millions of people, was deliberately pointed out by somebody and indicated to be destroyed, to be offered up as a

sacrifice to territorial lust by one or other of those Ministers of Powers with whom we were living in close friendship and affection.

We felt called upon to enlist ourselves on the part of the British nation as advocates and as champions of the integrity and independence of Belgium. And if we had gone to war, we should have gone to war for freedom, we should have gone to war for public right, we should have gone to war to save human happiness from being invaded by tyrannous and lawless power. This is what I call a good cause, Gentlemen. And though I detest war, and there are no epithets too strong, if you could supply me with them, that I will not endeavor to heap upon its head—in such a war as that, while the breath in my body is continued to me, I am ready to engage. I am ready to support it, I am ready to give all the help and aid I can to those who carry this country into it.

Well, Gentlemen, pledged to support the integrity and independence of Belgium, what did we do? We proposed to Prussia to enter into a new and solemn Treaty with us to resist the French Empire, if the French Empire attempted to violate the sanctity of freedom in Belgium; and we proposed to France to enter into a similar Treaty with us to pursue exactly the same measures against Prussia, if Prussia should make the like nefarious attempt. And we undertook that, in concert with the one, or in concert with the other, whichever the case might be, we would pledge all the resources of this Empire, and carry it into war, for the purpose of resisting mischief and maintaining the principles of European law and peace.

I ask you whether it is not ridiculous to apply the doctrine or the imputation, if it be an imputation, that we belong to the “Manchester School,” or to a Peace Party—we who made these engagements to go to war with France if necessary, or to go to war with Prussia, if necessary, for the sake of the independence of Belgium? But now I want you to observe the upshot. I must say that, in one respect, we were very inferior to the present Government—very inferior indeed. Our ciphers, our figures, were perfectly contemptible. We took nothing except two millions of money.

We knew perfectly well that what was required was an indication, and that that indication would be quite intelligible when it was read in the light of the new treaty engagement which we were

contracting; and consequently we asked Parliament to give us two millions of money for the sake of somewhat enlarging the numbers of available soldiers, and we were quite prepared to meet that contingency had it arrived. The great man who directs the Councils of the German Empire (Bismarck) acted with his usual promptitude. Our proposal went to him by telegraph, and he answered by telegraph, "Yes," the same afternoon. We were not quite so fortunate with France, for at that time the Councils of France were under the domination of some evil genius which it is difficult to trace, and needless to attempt to trace.

There was some delay in France—a little unnecessary haggling—but after two or three days France also came into this engagement, and from that moment the peace of Belgium was perfectly secured. When we had our integrity and our independence to protect, we took the measures which we believed to be necessary and sufficient for that protection; and in every year since those measures, Belgium, not unharmed only, but strengthened by having been carried safely and unhurt through a terrible danger, has pursued her peaceful career, rising continually in her prosperity and happiness, and still holding out an example before all Europe to teach the nations how to live.

Well, Gentlemen, as that occasion came to us with respect to Belgium, so it came to our successors with respect to Turkey. How did they manage it? They thought themselves bound to maintain the integrity and independence of Turkey, and they were undoubtedly bound conditionally to maintain it. I am not now going into the question of right, but into the question of the adaptation of the means to an end. These are the gentlemen who are set before you as the people whose continuance in office it is necessary to maintain to attract the confidence of Europe; these are the gentlemen whom patriotic associations laud to the skies as if they had a monopoly of human intelligence; these are the gentlemen who bring you "Peace with Honor;" these are the gentlemen who go in special trains to attend august assemblies, and receive the compliments of august statesmen; these are the gentlemen who for all these years have been calling upon you to pay any number of millions that might be required as a very cheap and insignificant consideration for the immense advantages that you derive from their administration.

Therefore I want you to know, and I have shown you, how we set about to maintain integrity and independence, and how it was maintained then. I ask how they have set about it. But, Gentlemen, on their own showing, they have done wrong. We have it out of their own mouths. I won't go to Lord Derby; I will go to the only man whose authority is higher for this purpose than Lord Derby's, namely, Lord Beaconsfield. He tells you plainly that what the Government ought to have done was to have said to Russia, "You shall not invade Turkey."

Gentlemen, that course is intelligible. It is a guilty course, in my opinion, to have taken up arms for maintaining the integrity of Turkey against her subject races, or to take up arms against what the Emperor of Russia believed to be a great honor to humanity in going to apply a remedy to these mischiefs. But Lord Beaconsfield has confessed in a public speech that the proper course for the Government to have taken was to have planted their foot, and to have said to the Emperor of Russia: "Cross not the Danube; if you cross the Danube, expect to confront the power of England on the southern shore." Now, Gentlemen, that course is intelligible, perfectly intelligible; and if you are prepared for the responsibility of maintaining such an integrity, and such an independence, irrespectively of other considerations against the Christian races in Turkey, that was the course for you to pursue.

It was not pursued, because the agitation, which is called the Bulgarian agitation, was too inconvenient to allow the Government to pursue it, because they saw that if they did that which Lord Beaconsfield now tells us it would have been right to do, the sentiment of the country would not have permitted them to continue to hold their office; and hence came that vacillation, hence came that ineptitude of policy which they now endeavor to cover by hectoring and by boasting, and which, within the last year or two, they have striven, and not quite unsuccessfully, to hide from the eyes of many by carrying measures of violence into other lands, if not against Russia, if not against the strong, yet against the weak, and endeavoring to attract to themselves the credit and glory of maintaining the power and influence of England.

Well, Gentlemen, they were to maintain the integrity and independence of Turkey. How did they set about it? They were not

satisfied with asking for our humble two millions; they asked for six millions. What did they do, first of all? First of all they encouraged Turkey to go to war. They did not counsel Turkey's submission to superior force; they neither would advise her to submit, nor would they assist her to resist. They were the great causes of her plunging into that deplorable and ruinous war, from the consequences of which, her Majesty's speech states this year, Turkey has not yet recovered, and there is not the smallest appearance of hope that she will ever recover.

But afterwards, and when the war had taken place, they came and asked you for a vote of six millions. What did they do with the six millions? They flourished it in the face of the world. What did they gain for Turkey? In the first place, they sent a fleet to the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. Are you aware that in sending that fleet they broke the law of Europe? They applied for a firman to the Sultan. The Sultan refused, and they had no right to send that fleet. But, however that may be, what was the use of sending that fleet? The consequence was that the Russian army, which had been at a considerable distance from Constantinople, marched close up to Constantinople.

Is it possible to conceive an idea more absurd than that which I really believe was entertained by many of our friends—I do not say our friends in Midlothian, but in places where the intelligence is high—that the presence of certain British ironclads in the Sea of Marmora prevented the victorious Russian armies from entering Constantinople? What could these ironclads do? They could have battered down Constantinople, no doubt; but what consolation would that have been to Turkey, or how would it have prevented Russian armies from entering? That part of the pretext set is too thin and threadbare to require any confutation. But they may say that that vote of six millions was an indication of the intention of England to act in case of need; and when it was first proposed, it was to strengthen the hands of England at the Congress.

But did it strengthen the hands of England; and if so, to what purpose was that strength used? The Treaty of San Stefano had been signed between Russia and Turkey; the Treaty of Berlin was substituted for it. What the grand difference between the Treaty

or Berlin and the Treaty of San Stefano? There was a portion of Bessarabia which down to the time of the Treaty of Berlin, enjoyed free institutions, and by the Treaty of Berlin, and mainly through the agency of the British Government, which had pledged itself beforehand by what is called the Salisbury-Schouvaloff Memorandum, to support Russia in her demand for that territory, if Russia adhered to that demand, England, with the vote of six millions given to strengthen her influence, made herself specially responsible for hauding back that territory, which enjoyed free institutions, to be governed despotically by the Russian Empire.

That is the first purpose for which, as I have shown you, your vote of six millions was available. What was the second? It was to draw a line along the Balkan Mountains, by means of which Northern Bulgaria was separated from Southern Bulgaria, and Southern Bulgaria was re-named Eastern Roumelia.

The Sultan has not marched, and cannot march, a man into Eastern Roumelia. If he did, the consequences would be that the whole of that population, who are determined to fight for their rights, would rise against him and his troops, and would be supported by other forces that could be drawn to it under the resistless influences of sympathy with freedom. You may remember that three or four years ago utter scorn was poured upon what was called the "bag-and-baggage policy." Are you aware that that policy is at this moment the basis upon which are regulated the whole of the civil state of things in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia? What that policy asked was that every Turkish authority should be marched out of Bulgaria, and every Turkish authority has gone out of Bulgaria.

There is not a Turk at this moment who, as a Turk, holds office under the Sultan either in Bulgaria or in Southern Bulgaria, which is called Eastern Roumelia—no, not one. The despised "bag-and-baggage policy" is at this moment the law of Europe, and that is the result of it; and it is for that, Gentlemen, that the humble individual who stands before you was held up and reviled as a visionary enthusiast and a verbose—I forget what—rhetoricians although I believe myself there was not much verbosity in that particular phrase. It appeared to me the people of England understood it pretty well—nay, more, the Congress of Berlin

seemed to have understood it, and the state of things which I recommended was irresistible, and now, I thank God, is irreversibly established in those once unhappy provinces.

Gentlemen, we have got one more thing to do in regard to these provinces, and that is this—I urged it at the same time when I produced this monstrous conception of the “bag-and-baggage policy”—it is this, to take great care that the majority of the inhabitants of these provinces, who are Christians, do not oppress either the Mohammedans, or the Jewish, or any other minority. That is a sacred duty ; I don’t believe it to be a difficult duty ; it is a sacred duty. I stated to you just now that there was not a Turk holding office, as a Turk, in these provinces.

I believe there are Turks holding office—and I rejoice to hear it—holding office through the free suffrage of their countrymen, and by degrees I hope that they, when they are once rid of all the pestilent and poisonous associations, and the recollections of the old ascendancy, will become good and peaceful citizens like other people. I believe the people of Turkey have in them many fine qualities, whatever the Governors may be, capable under proper education, Gentlemen, of bringing them to a state of capacity and competency for every civil duty.

Gentlemen, it still remains for me to ask you how this great and powerful Government has performed its duty of maintaining the integrity and independence of Turkey. It has had great and extraordinary advantages. It has had the advantage of disciplined support from its majority in the House of Commons. Though I am not making any complaint, as my friend in the Chair knows, it was not exactly the same as happened in the days of recent Liberal Governments. It had had unflinching and incessant support from the large majority of the Lords.

That was very far from being our case in our day. There is no reason why I should not say so. I say freely—it is an historical fact—that the House of Lords, when the people’s representatives are backed by a strong national feeling, when it would be dangerous to oppose, confront, or resist, then the House of Lords pass our measures. So they passed the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, and so they passed the Irish **Land Act**; and I have no doubt that, if it pleases the Almighty, they will pass many more good measures.

But the moment the people go to sleep—and they cannot be always awake—when public opinion flags and ceases to take a strong and decided interest in public questions, that moment the majority of the House of Lords grows. They mangle, they postpone, they reject the good measures that go up to them.

I will show you another advantage which the present Administration possesses. They are supported by several foreign Governments. Did you read in the London papers within the last few weeks an account of the energetic support they derived from the Emperor of Austria? Did you see that the Emperor of Austria sent for the British Ambassador, Sir Henry Elliot, and told him that a pestilent person, a certain individual named Mr. Gladstone, was a man who did not approve the foreign policy of Austria, and how anxious he was—so the Emperor of Austria was pleased complacently to say—for the guidance of the British people and of the electors of Midlothian—how anxious he was that you should, all of you, give your votes in a way to maintain the Ministry of Lord Beaconsfield? Well, Gentlemen, if you approve the foreign policy of Austria, the foreign policy that Austria has usually pursued, I advise you to do that very thing; if you want to have an Austrian foreign policy dominant in the Councils of this country, give your votes as the Emperor of Austria recommends.

What has that foreign policy of Austria been? I do not say that Austria is incurable. I hope it will yet be cured, because it has got better institutions at home, and I heartily wish it well if it makes honest attempts to confront its difficulties. Yet I must look to what that policy has been. Austria has ever been the unflinching foe of freedom in every country of Europe. Austria trampled under foot, Austria resisted the unity of Germany.

Russia, I am sorry to say, has been the foe of freedom, too; but in Russia there is an exception—Russia has been the friend of Slavonic freedom; but Austria has never been the friend even of Slavonic freedom. Austria did all she could to prevent the creation of Belgium. Austria never lifted a finger for the regeneration and constitution of Greece. There is not an instance—there is not a spot upon the whole map where you can lay your finger and say, “There Austria did good.” I speak of its general policy; I speak of its general tendency. I do not abandon the hope of improve-

ment in the future, but we must look to the past and to the present for the guidance of our judgments at this moment.

And in the Congress of Berlin Austria resisted the extension of freedom, and did not promote it; and therefore, I say, if you want the spirit of Austria to inspire the Councils of this country, in Heaven's name take the Emperor's counsel; and I advise you to lift the Austrian flag when you go about your purposes of canvass or of public meetings. It will best express the purpose you have in view, and I, for one, cannot complain of your consistency, whatever, in that case, I might think of the tendency of your views in respect of principle, of justice, of the happiness of mankind, or of the greatness, the dignity, and the honor of this great Empire.

But, Gentlemen, still one word more, because I have not spoken of what has been the upshot of all this. There are a great many persons in this country, I am afraid, as well as in other countries, who are what is called Worshippers of Success, and at the time of the famous "Peace with Honor" demonstration there was a very great appearance of success. I was not myself at that time particularly safe when I walked in the streets of London. I have walked with my wife from my own house, I have walked owing my protection to the police; but that was the time, Gentlemen, when all those curious methods of maintaining British honor and British dignity were supposed to have been wonderfully successful.

And now I want to ask you, as I have shown the way we went about maintaining the independence and integrity of Belgium—what has become of the independence and integrity of Turkey? I have shown that they neither knew in the first instance the ends towards which they should first have directed their efforts, nor, when they have chosen ends, have they been able rationally to adapt their means to the attainment of those ends. I am not speaking of the moral character of the means, but how they are adapted to the end. And what did the vote of six millions achieve for Turkey? I will tell you what it achieved. It did achieve one result, and I want you well to consider whether you are satisfied with it or not, especially those of you who are Conservatives. It undoubtedly cut down largely the division of Bulgaria, established by the Treaty of San Stefano.

Now, I am not going to maintain that that division was a right

one, for that depends on a knowledge more minute than I possess ; but the effect of it was to cut it down, as is perfectly well known—that is, put back under the direct rule of the Sultan of Turkey, and in the exact condition in which all European Turkey, except the Principalities, had been before the war, the population inhabiting the country of Macedonia, and about a million of people, the vast majority of them Christians.

Two substantive and definite results, the two most definite results, produced were these—first of all, that Bessarabia, that had been a country with free institutions, was handed back to despotism ; and secondly, a million and a half of people inhabiting Macedonia, to whom free institutions had been promised by the Treaty of San Stefano, are now again placed under the Turkish Pashas, and have not received one grain of benefit of importance as compared with their condition before the war.

But how as regards Turkey ? I have shown results bad enough in regard to freedom. What did the British Plenipotentiaries say at Berlin ? They said that some people seemed to suppose we had come to cut and carve Turkey. That is quite a mistake, said the Plenipotentiaries ; we have come to consolidate Turkey. Some of the scribes of the Foreign Office coined a new word, and said it was to “rejuvenate” Turkey.

How did they rejuvenate this unfortunate Empire, this miserable Empire, this unhappy Government which they have lured into war and allowed and encouraged to pass into war because they allowed their Ambassadors at Constantinople, Sir Henry Elliot and Sir Austen Layard, to whisper into the ear of the Turk that British interests would compel us to interfere and help her ? What has been the result to Turkey ? Now, I will say, much as the Christian populations have the right to complain, the Sultan of Turkey has a right to complain very little less. How has the Sultan been treated ? We condescended to obtain from him the island of Cyprus, at a time when Austria was pulling at him on one side and freedom on the other. We condescended to take from him that miserable paltry share of the spoil.

That is not all. What is the condition of Turkey in Europe ? It is neither integrity nor independence. The Sultan is liable to interference at any moment, at every point of his territory from

every one that signed the Treaty of Berlin. He has lost ten millions of subjects altogether, ten millions more are in some kind of dependence or other—in a condition that the Sultan does not know whether they will be his subjects to-morrow or the next day. Albania is possessed by a League. Macedonia, as you read in the papers, is traversed by brigands. Thessaly and Epirus, according to the Treaty of Berlin, should be given to Greece.

The treasury of Turkey is perfectly empty, disturbances have spread through Turkey in Asia, and the condition of that Government, whose integrity and independence you were told that “Peace with Honor” had secured, is more miserable than at any previous period of its history; and wise and merciful indeed would be the man that would devise some method of improving it.

To those gentlemen who talk of the great vigor and determination and success of the Tory Government, I ask you to compare the case of Belgium and Turkey. Try them by principles, or try them by results, I care not which, we knew what we were about and what was to be done when we had integrity and independence to support.

When they had integrity and independence to protect, they talked, indeed, loud enough about supporting Turkey, and you would suppose they were prepared to spend their whole resources upon it; but all their measures have ended in nothing except that they have reduced Turkey to a state of greater weakness than at any portion of her history, whereas, on the other hand, in regard to the twelve or thirteen millions of Slavs and Roumanian population, they have made the name of England odious throughout the whole population, and done everything in their power to throw that population into the arms of Russia, to be the tool of Russia in its plans and schemes, unless, indeed, as I hope and am inclined to believe, the virtue of free institutions they have obtained will make them too wise to become the tools of any foreign Power whatever, will make them intent upon maintaining their own liberties as becomes a free people playing a noble part in the history of Europe.

I have detained you too long, and I will not, though I would, pursue this subject further. I have shown you what I think the miserable failure of the policy of the Government. Remember we have a fixed point from which to draw our measurements. Remem-

ber what in 1876 the proposal of those who approved of the Bulgarian agitation and who were denounced as the enemies of Turkey, remember what that proposal would have done.

It would have given Autonomy to Bulgaria, which has now got Autonomy; but it would have saved all the remainder at less detriment to the rest of the Turkish Empire. Turkey would have had a fair chance. Turkey would not have suffered the territorial losses which she has elsewhere suffered, and which she has suffered, I must say, in consequence of her being betrayed into the false and mischievous, the tempting and seductive, but unreal and unwise policy of the present Administration.

There are other matters which must be reserved for other times. We are told about the Crimean War. Sir Stafford Northcote tells us the Crimean War, made by the Liberal Government, cost the country forty millions of debt, and an income tax of 1s. 4d. per pound. Now what is the use of telling us that? I will discuss the Crimean War on some future occasion, but not now. If the Liberal Government were so clever, that they contrived to burden the country with forty millions of debt for this Crimean War, why does he not go back to the war before that, and tell us what the Tory Government did with the Revolutionary War, when they left a debt on the country of some nine hundred millions, of which six hundred and fifty millions they had made in the Revolutionary War, and not only so, but they left the blessing and legacy of the Corn Laws, and of a high protective system, and impoverished country, and a discontented population—so much so, that for years that followed that great Revolutionary War, no man could say whether the Constitution of this country was or was not worth five years' purchase.

They might even go further back than the Revolutionary War. They have been talking loudly of the Colonies, and say that, forsooth, the Liberal party do nothing for the Colonies. What did the Tory party do for the Colonies? I can tell you. Go to the war that preceded the Revolutionary War. They made war against the American Continent. They added to the debt of the country two hundred millions in order to destroy freedom in America. They alienated it and drove it from this country. They were compelled to bring this country to make an ignominious peace; and,

as far as I know, that attempt to put down freedom in America, with its results to this country, is the only one great fact which has ever distinguished the relations between a Tory Government and the Colonies.

But, Gentlemen, these must be matters postponed for another occasion. I thank you very cordially, both friends and opponents, if opponents you be, for the extreme kindness with which you have heard me. I have spoken, and I must speak in very strong terms of the acts done by my opponents. I will never say that they did it from vindictiveness, I will never say that they did it from passion, I will never say that they did it from a sordid love of office; I have no right to use such words; I have no right to entertain such sentiments; I repudiate and abjure them. I give them credit for patriotic motives—I give them credit for those patriotic motives, which are incessantly and gratuitously denied to us. I believe we are all united in a fond attachment to the great country to which we belong, to the great Empire which has committed to it a trust and function from Providence, as special and remarkable as was ever entrusted to any portion of the family of man.

When I speak of that trust and that function I feel that words fail. I cannot tell you what I think of the nobleness of the inheritance which has descended upon us, of the sacredness of the duty of maintaining it. I will not condescend to make it a part of controversial politics. It is a part of my being, of my flesh and blood, of my heart and soul. For those ends I have labored through my youth and manhood, and, more than that, till my hairs are grey. In that faith and practice I have lived, and in that faith and practice I shall die.

CHAPTER XX.

THE IRISH QUESTION.

Personal Explanation—Domestic Government for Ireland—Six Conditions for Home Rule—Repelling Attacks—Trivial Disputes—All Great Movements Small in the Beginning—Failure of Parliament to Legislate for Ireland—Attempt to do Justice to the Irish—Union of the Kingdoms to Be Maintained—Irish Affairs to Be Settled in Ireland—Movement Against Rent—Mr. Parnell's Party—Central Authority—Home Rule to Be Safeguarded—Urgency of the Question—Charge of Being in Haste.

MR. GLADSTONE, in a pamphlet published during the agitation of Home Rule for Ireland, defended his action in the following terms, which did much to silence hostile criticism and secure friends for the cause he advocated so earnestly:

In the year 1868, I was closely associated with the policy of disestablishing the Irish Church. It was then, not unfairly, attempted to assail the cause in the person of its advocate. To defeat this attempt, an act became necessary which would otherwise have been presumptuous and obtrusive. In order to save the policy from suffering, I laid a personal explanation before the world. The same motive now obliges me to repeat the act, and will I hope form a sufficient excuse for my repeating it.

The substance of my defence or apology will, however, on the present occasion be altogether different. I had then to explain the reasons for which, and the mode in which, I changed the opinions and conduct, with respect to the Church of Ireland then established, which I had held half a century ago. I had shown my practical acceptance of the rule that change of opinion should if possible be accompanied with proof of independence and disinterested motive; for I had resigned my place in the Cabinet of Sir Robert Peel in order to make good my title to a new point of departure. On the present occasion I have no such change to vindicate; but only to point out the mode in which my language and conduct, governed by uniformity of principle, have simply followed the several stages,

by which the great question of autonomy for Ireland has been brought to a state of ripeness for practical legislation.

It is a satisfaction to me that, in confuting imputations upon myself, I shall not be obliged to cast imputations on any individual opponent.

The subject of a domestic government for Ireland, without any distinct specification of its form, has been presented to us from time to time. I have at no time regarded it as necessarily replete with danger, or as a question which ought to be blocked out by the assertion of some high constitutional doctrine with which it could not be reconciled. But I have considered it to be a question involving such an amount and such a kind of change, and likely to be encountered with so much of prejudice apart from reason, as to make it a duty to look rigidly to the conditions, upon the fulfillment of which alone it could warrantably be entertained. They were in my view as follows:

1. It could not be entertained, except upon a final surrender of the hope that Parliament could so far serve as a legislative instrument for Ireland, as to be able to establish honorable and friendly relations between Great Britain and the people of that country.

2. Nor unless the demand for it were made in obedience to the unequivocal and rooted desire of Ireland, expressed through the constitutional medium of the Irish representatives.

3. Nor unless, being thus made, it were likewise so defined, as to bring it within the limits of safety and prudence, and to obviate all danger to the unity and security of the Empire.

4. Nor was it, in my view, allowable to deal with Ireland upon any principle, the benefit of which could not be allowed to Scotland in circumstances of equal and equally clear desire.

5. Upon the fulfillment of these conditions, it appeared to me an evident duty to avoid, as long as possible, all steps which would bring this great settlement into the category of party measures.

6. And, subject to the foregoing considerations, I deemed it to be of great moment to the public weal that the question should be promptly and expeditiously dealt with; inasmuch as it must otherwise gravely disturb the action of our political system by changes of Ministry, by Dissolutions of Parliament, and by impeding the

business, and derogating further from the character of the House of Commons.

These were the principles, which I deemed applicable to the subject; and every step I have taken from first to last, without exception, has been prompted by, and is referable to, one or other of them.

From the torrent of reproachful criticisms, brought down upon me probably by the necessity of the case, it is not easy to extricate, in an adequate form, the charge or charges intended to be made. One or two of the statements I must own surprise me; as for example when Lord Northbrook, complaining of me for reticence before, and for my action after, the election of 1885, states confidently that nothing had happened "that could not have been foreseen by any man of ordinary political foresight." I do not dwell upon the undeniable truth that many things may be foreseen, which, notwithstanding, cannot properly become the subject of action until they have been seen as well as foreseen.

But I broadly contest the statement. I assert that an incident of the most vital importance had happened, which I did not foresee; which was not foreseen, to my knowledge, by any one else, even if some might have hoped for it; and which I doubt whether Lord Northbrook himself foresaw; namely, that the Irish demand, put forth on the first night of the Session by Mr. Parnell, with eighty-four Irish Home Rulers at his back, would be confined within the fair and moderate bounds of autonomy; of an Irish legislature, only for affairs specifically Irish; of a statutory and subordinate Parliament. But in this incident lay the fulfillment of one of those conditions which were in my view essential, and which had been theretofore unfulfilled.

The more general and more plausible form of the attack I think may be stated as a dilemma. Either I had conceived the intention of Home Rule precipitately, or I had concealed it unduly. Either would, undoubtedly, have been a grave offence; the second as a plot against my friends, the first as an attempt to escape from the sober judgment of the country and to carry it by surprise. The first aspect of the case was presented by Lord Hartington in the House of Commons, and by Mr. Chamberlain, on the 20th of June, at Birmingham. The second was put forward by Mr. Bright in

addressing his constituents, and, with much point and force, by Lord Hartington, at Sheffield.

In substance he argued thus: "Mr. Gladstone has never, during fifteen years, condemned the principle of Home Rule. Either, then, he had not considered it, or he had assented to it. But, in his position as Minister, he must have considered it. Therefore, the proper conclusion is, that he had assented to it. And yet, though I was Secretary for Ireland, with Lord Spencer as Viceroy, when he was Prime Minister, to neither of us did he convey the smallest idea of such assent."

Telling as this statement evidently was, it abounds in leakages. In the first place I deny that it is the duty of every minister to make known, even to his colleagues, every idea which has formed itself in his mind. I should even say that the contradictory proposition would be absurd. So far as my experience of government has gone, subjects ripe for action supply a minister with abundant material for communication with his colleagues, and to make a rule or mixing with them matters still contingent and remote, would confuse and retard business, instead of aiding it. But letting pass, for argument sake, a very irrational proposition, I grapple with the dilemma, and say *non sequitur*—the consequence asserted is no consequence at all. It was no consequence from my not having condemned Home Rule, that I had either not considered it, or had adopted it.

What is true is, that I had not publicly and in principle condemned it, and also that I had mentally considered it. But I had neither adopted nor rejected it; and for the very simple reason, that it was not ripe either for adoption or rejection. It had not become the unequivocal demand of Ireland; and it had not been so defined by its promoters, as to prove that it was a safe demand. It may and should be known to many who are or have been my colleagues, that I made some abortive efforts towards increasing Irish influence over Irish affairs, beyond the mere extension of county government, but not in a shape to which the term Home Rule could be properly applied.

Nor have I been able to trace a single imputation upon me, whether of omission or commission, in respect of which I should not, by acting according to the orders of my censors, have offended

against all or some of the rules, which I have pointed out as the guides of my conduct, and by which I seek to stand or fall.

As these disputes of ours, trivial enough from one point of view, are in a certain sense making history, it may be well if, in connection with the thread of these observations, I recall, by means of a very brief outline, some particulars relating to the Government of Ireland, and to the demand for a domestic legislature, during the last half century. For that demand, constant in the hearts of Irishmen, has nevertheless been intermittent in its manifestation; sometimes wider, sometimes narrower in its form; sometimes, as in the famine, put aside by imperative necessity; sometimes yielding the ground to partial and lawless action; sometimes exchanged for attempts at practical legislation, which, for the moment, threw it into the shade.

The great controversy of Free Trade, the reformation of the Tariff, and the care of finance, provided me, in common with many others, nay, in the main provided the Three Kingdoms, with a serious and usually an absorbing political occupation for a quarter of a century, from the time when the Government of Sir R. Peel was formed in 1841. When that period has passed, and when the question of the franchise had been dealt with, the general condition of Ireland became the main subject of my anxiety.

The question of a home-government for Ireland was at that time in abeyance. The grant of such a government to that country had only been known to us, in the past, either as the demand for a repeal of the Legislative Union, or in the still more formidable shape, which it presented when the policy of O'Connell was superseded by the men of action, and when the too just discontent of Ireland assumed the violent and extravagant form of Fenianism. The movement for Repeal appeared to merge into this dangerous conspiracy, which it was obvious could only be met by measures of repression. In none of these controversies had I personally taken any direct share, beyond following the statesmen of 1834 and of 1844 by my vote against Repeal of the Union. Mournfully as I am struck, in retrospect, by the almost absolute failure of Parliament, at and long after those periods, to perform its duties to Ireland, I see no reason to repent of any such vote. Unspeakably criminal, I own, were the means by which the Union was brought

about, and utterly insufficient were the reasons for its adoption; still it was a measure vast in itself and in its consequential arrangements, and it could not be made the subject of experiment from year to year, or from Parliament to Parliament.

There was then a yet stronger reason for declining to impart a shock to the legislative fabric by Repeal. Before us lay an alternative policy, the relief of Ireland from grievance; and this policy had not been tried in any manner at all approaching to sufficiency. It was not possible, at the time, to prognosticate how in a short time Parliament would stumble and almost writhe under its constantly accumulating burdens, or to pronounce that it would eventually prove incapable of meeting the wants of Ireland. Evidently there was a period when Irish patriotism, as represented by O'Connell, looked favorably upon this alternative policy, had no fixed conclusion as to the absolute necessity for Home Government, and seemed to allow that measures founded in "justice to Ireland" might possibly suffice to meet the necessity of the case.

But the efforts made in this direction, down to the time of the famine, were, though honest and useful, only partial; and they unhappily had been met by an obstinacy of resistance, which entailed long delays and frequent mutilations; and which in all cases deprived them of their gracious aspect, and made even our remedial plans play the part of corroborative witnesses to an evil state of things.

It will be admitted that the Government of 1868-74 endeavored on a more adequate scale, principally by what is still called in some quarters sacrilege and confiscation, to grapple with an inveterate difficulty. Once more, in acknowledgment of these efforts, the National Party fell into line. But, on the important question of Education, we were defeated in 1873, not by an English, but by an Irish resistance. Other measures, to which I had looked with interest, could not be brought to birth. But a happy effect had been produced upon Irish feeling; and prosperity, both agricultural and general singularly, it might be said unduly, favored for some years the operation of the Land Act of 1870. We had taken seriously to the removal of grievance, as the alternative policy to Repeal of the Union.

So much had been achieved, with the zealous support of the elect-

orate of England and Scotland, that it was our plain duty to carry through that policy to the uttermost, and to give no countenance in any shape to proposals for either undoing or modifying the present constitution of the Imperial Parliament, until it had been established to our satisfaction, or conclusively shown to be the fixed and rooted conviction of the Irish people, that Parliament was unequal to the work of governing Ireland as a free people should be governed.

At this time it was, that the new formula of Home Rule came forward as matter for discussion, not in Parliament, but in Ireland; before the Irish public and under the auspices of Mr. Isaac Butt, who was at that time simply an individual of remarkable ability, not yet the representative or leader of a Nationalist party, far less of a Nationalist majority. There were, at the time, no inconsiderable presumptions that Parliament could meet the wants of Ireland, from the conspicuous acts it had just accomplished. It was very well known that in some cases where those wants had not been adequately met, such as the case of the Borough Franchise in 1868, it was really due to the defective expression of them by Irish Members of Parliament. It was plain that there was no authoritative voice from Ireland, such as was absolutely required to justify a Prime Minister of this country in using any language which could be quoted as an encouragement to the movement on behalf of a domestic Legislature.

Accordingly, I contended at Aberdeen in the summer of 1871, that no case had been established to prove the incompetence of Parliament, or to give authority to the demand of Mr. Butt. I felt, and rightly felt, the strongest objections to breaking up an existing constitution of the Legislature, without proof of its necessity, of its safety, and of the sufficiency of the authority by which the demand was made. But even at that time I did not close the door against a recognition of the question in a different state of things. I differed as widely as possible, even at that time, from those with whom I have been in conflict during the present year. For, instead of denouncing the idea of Home Rule as one in its essence destructive of the unity of the Empire, in the following words I accepted the assurance given to the contrary:

“Let me do the promoters of this movement the fullest justice.

Always speaking under the conviction, as they most emphatically declare, and as I fully believe them, that the union of these kingdoms under Her Majesty is to be maintained, but that Parliament is to be broken up."

Thus, at the very first inception of the question, I threw aside the main doctrine on which opposition to Irish autonomy is founded. This was the first step, and I think a considerable step, towards placing the controversy on its true basis.

In the General Election of 1874, a great progress became visible. Mr. Butt was returned to Parliament as the chief of a party, formed on behalf of Irish self-government. It was a considerable party, amounting, as is said, to a small nominal majority, yet rather conventionally agreed on a formula than united by any idea worked into practical form. But a new stage had been reached, and I thus referred at the opening of the Session to the proposal of the Irish leader:

"That plan is this—that exclusively Irish affairs are to be judged in Ireland, and that then the Irish members are to come to the Imperial Parliament and to judge as they may think fit of the general affairs of the Empire, and also of affairs exclusively English and Scotch [Mr. Butt: No, No.] It is all very well for gentlemen to cry 'No' when the blot has been hit by the honorable gentleman opposite." (Mr. Newdegate). . . .

"I cannot quit this subject without recording the satisfaction with which I heard one declaration made by the right honorable gentleman who seconded the amendment (Mr. Brooks). My honorable and learned friend said, that Ireland has entirely given up the idea of separation from this country."

Thus I again accepted without qualification the principle that Home Rule had no necessary connection with separation; and took my objection simply to a proposal that Irishmen should deal exclusively with their own affairs, and also, jointly, with ours.

After the death of Mr. Butt, Mr. Shaw became the leader of his party, and in 1884 delivered an exposition of his views in a spirit so frank and loyal to the Constitution, that I felt it my duty at once to meet such an utterance in a friendly manner. I could not indeed, consistently with the conditions I have laid down, make his opinion my own. But I extract a portion of my reference to his speech, as it is reported.

“I must say that the spirit of thorough manliness in which he approaches this question, and which he unites with a spirit of thorough kindness to us, and with an evident disposition to respect both the functions of this House, and the spirit of the English Constitution, does give hope that if the relations between England and Ireland are to become thoroughly satisfactory, the most important contribution to that essential end will have been made by my honorable friend, and those who speak like him.”

In a speech at the Guildhall, on receiving an address, I reverted to the subject of Home Rule. This was the period (October, 1881) when I deemed it my duty more than once to denounce in strong terms the movement against rent in Ireland, and with it the extravagant claims which seemed to me to be made in the name of National Independence. Yet I then spoke as follows:

“It is not on any point connected with the exercise of local government in Ireland; it is not even on any point connected with what is popularly known in that country as Home Rule, and which may be understood in any one of a hundred senses, some of them perfectly acceptable, and even desirable, others of them mischievous and revolutionary—it is not upon any of those points that we are at present at issue. With regard to local government in Ireland, after what I have said of local government in general, and its immeasurable benefits, you will not be surprised if I say that I for one will hail with satisfaction and delight any measure of local government for Ireland, or for any portion of the country, provided only that it conform to this one condition, that it shall not break down or impair the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament.”

Once more I entered on the subject, in the House of Commons, on February 9, 1882. I referred to the party led then, as now, by Mr. Parnell. The citation is from Hansard:

“Neither they, nor so far as I know Mr. Butt before them, nor so far as I know Mr. O’Connell before him, ever distinctly explained, in an intelligible and practicable form, the manner in which the real knot of this question was to be untied. The principle upon which the honorable members propose to proceed is this—that purely Irish matters should be dealt with by a purely Irish authority, and that purely Imperial matters should be dealt with by an Imperial Chamber in which Ireland is to be represented.

But they have not told us by what authority it is to be determined what matters, when taken one by one, are Irish, and what matters are Imperial.

“Until, Sir, they lay before this House a plan in which they go to the very bottom of that subject, and give us to understand in what manner that division of jurisdiction is to be accomplished, the practical consideration of this subject cannot really be arrived at, and, for my own part, I know not how any effective judgment upon it can be pronounced. Whatever may be the outcome of the honorable member’s proposal, of this I am well convinced, that neither this House of Commons, nor any other that may succeed it, will at any time assent to any measure by which the one paramount Central Authority, necessary for holding together in perfect union and compactness this great Empire, can possibly be either in the greatest or the slightest degree impaired.

“We are not to depart from that principle; and what I put to the honorable gentleman who has just sat down, and to the honorable member who preceded him is this—that their first duty to us and their first duty to themselves, their first obligation in the prosecution of the purpose which they have in view—namely, the purpose of securing the management of purely Irish affairs by Irish hands—is to point out to us by what authority, and by what instrument, affairs purely Irish are to be divided and distinguished, in order that they may be appropriately and separately dealt with from those Imperial affairs and interests which they have frankly admitted must remain in the hands of the Imperial Parliament.”

Mr. Plunkett hereupon stated that he had taken down my words, and that he could only understand them as an invitation to Irish members to re-open the question of Home Rule. Nor did he see how I could after using such words resist a motion for a Committee on the subject. To any and every plan for referring such a subject to a Committee of Parliament I have at all times been opposed. But Mr. Plunkett’s meaning was evident, nor could I dispute the substance of his interpretation.

I will not weary my reader by adding to citations by which his patience has already been so severely tried. But I ask him to remember that down to this time no safe-guarding definition of Home Rule had been supplied, and no demand, in the constitu-

tional sense, had been made by the Irish nation. I beg him then, after he has read the foregoing declarations, to place himself for a single moment in my position, as one who thought conditions to be indispensable, but also thought that the question might under conditions be entertained, and then to ask himself whether it was possible more carefully to indicate in outline the limits within which the subject of Irish self-government might, and beyond which it might not, legitimately be considered, and whether it is anything less than absurd to impute to me that my "principles" forbade me to promote it?

I next pass to the period preceding the election of 1885. It had now become morally certain that Ireland would, through a vast majority of her representatives, present a demand in the National sense. But no light had been thrown, to my knowledge, upon the question what that demand would be. Further, not only was there a Tory Government in office, but one which owed much to Mr. Parnell, and which was supposed to have given him, through its Lord Lieutenant or otherwise, assurances respecting Irish Government, which he had deemed more or less satisfactory.

Under these circumstances, I conceived that my duty was clear, and that it was summed up in certain particulars. They were these. To do nothing to hinder the prosecution of the question by the Tory Government if it should continue in office (of course without prejudice to my making all the efforts in my power to procure a Liberal majority). Entirely to avoid any language which would place the question in the category of party measures. But to use my best efforts to impress the public mind, and especially the Liberal mind, with the supreme importance, and the probable urgency, of the question. And lastly, to lay down the principle on which it should be dealt with. These rules of action applied to the circumstances of the hour those governing principles which I have above enumerated. I proceeded on them as follows:

It was impossible for me, while ignorant of the nature and limits of the Irish demand, to give an opinion upon it; and even had it been possible, it would have been in conflict with the condition which I have numbered as the fifth. But, to give emphasis to the importance of the question, I severed it in my

Address from the general subject of Local Government for the three kingdoms. Ireland had arrived, I said, at an important epoch in her history ; she had claims to a special interpretation of the principles of Local Government. It would be the solution of a problem, testing the political genius of these nations. Woe be to the man who should prevent or retard the consummation. It would probably throw into the shade all the important measures, which in my Address I had set out as ripe for action. And the subject is one "which goes down to the very roots and foundations of our whole civil and political constitution." And yet it has been said, strangely enough, that I gave no indication to my friends, except of Local Government in the sense of County Government for Ireland.

Lastly, I laid down, over and over again, the principle on which we ought to proceed. It was to give to Ireland everything which was compatible with "the Supremacy of the Crown, the Unity of the Empire, and all the authority of Parliament necessary for the conservation of that Unity." It appears to me that the whole of the provisions of the Irish Government Bill, lately buried, but perhaps not altogether dead, lies well within these lines, and that my case thus far is complete.

What I have in these pages urged has been a defence against a charge of reticence. On the charge of precipitancy I need not bestow many words. What antagonists call precipitancy I call promptitude. Had Mr. Pitt in 1801 carried Roman Catholic Emancipation, as we suppose he wished, many an Englishman would have thought him precipitate. Precipitancy, indeed, was avoided, but at what cost? For nine-and-twenty years the question was trifled with on one side the Channel, and left festering on the other, and emancipation was at last accepted as an alternative to civil war.

Such is not the manner in which I desire to see the business of the Empire carried on. It was not pondering the case ; it was paltering with the public interests. I do not deny that promptitude is disagreeable in politics, as it often is to a doctor's or a surgeon's patient. But if the practitioner sees that, by every day's delay, the malady takes hold and the chances of health or life are dwindling away, it is his duty to press the operation or the drug, and the

sufferer will in due time be grateful to him for the courage and fidelity which at first he mistakenly condemned.

I have endeavored to point out the conditions under which alone the question of a statutory Parliament for Ireland could be warrantably entertained. The real test may be stated in one word: the ripeness or unripeness of the question. All men do not perceive, all men do not appreciate, ripeness, with the same degree of readiness or aptitude; and the slow must ever suffer inconvenience in the race of life. But, when the subject once was ripe, the time for action had come. Just as if it had been a corn-field, we were not to wait till it was over-ripe.

The healing of inveterate sores would only become more difficult, the growth of budding hopes more liable to be checked and paralyzed by the frosts of politics. For England, in her soft arm-chair, a leisurely, very leisurely consideration, with adjournments interposed, as it had been usual, so also would have been comfortable. But for Ireland, in her leaky cabin, it was of consequence to stop out the weather. To miss the opportunity would have been not less clearly wrong than to refuse waiting until it came. The first political juncture which made action permissible also made it obligatory. So much, then, for precipitancy.

If I am not egregiously wrong in all that has been said, Ireland has now lying before her a broad and even way, in which to walk to the consummation of her wishes. Before her eyes is opened that same path of constitutional and peaceful action, of steady, free, and full discussion, which has led England and Scotland to the achievement of all their pacific triumphs. Like the walls of Jericho, falling, not in blood and conflagration, but at the trumpet's peal, so, under the action of purely moral forces, have an hundred fortresses of prejudice, privilege, and shallow proscription, successively given away.

It is the potent spell of legality, which has done all this, or enabled it to be done. The evil spirit of illegality and violence has thus far had no part or lot in the political action of Ireland, since, through the Franchise Act of 1885, she came into that inheritance of adequate representation, from which she had before been barred. Ireland, in her present action, is not to be held responsible for those agrarian offences, which are in truth the indi-

cation and symptom of her disease; from which her public opinion has, through the recent beneficial action, become greatly more estranged; and to which she herself ardently entreats us to apply the only effectual remedy, by such a reconciliation between the people and the law, as is the necessary condition of civilized life.

The moderation of the Irish demands, as they were presented and understood in the Session of 1886, has been brightly reflected in the calm, conflicting, and constitutional attitude of the nation. I make no specific reference to the means that have been used in one deplorable case, under guilty recommendations from above, with a view to disturbing this attitude, and arresting the progress of the movement; for I believe that the employment of such means, and the issuing of such recommendations, will eventually aid the cause they were designed to injure. It is true that, in the close of the last century, the obstinate refusal of just demands, and the deliberate and dreadful acts of Ireland's enemies, drove her people widely into disaffection, and partially into the ways of actual violence.

But she was then down trodden and gagged. She has now a full constitutional equipment of all the means necessary for raising and determining the issues of moral force. She has also the strongest sympathies within, as well as beyond, these shores to cheer, moderate, and guide her. The position is for her a novel one, and in its novelty lies its only risk. But she is quick and ready of perception; she has the rapid comprehensive glance, which the generals she has found for us have shown on many a field of battle. The qualities she has so eminently exhibited this year have already earned for her a rich reward in confidence and good will. There is no more to ask of her. She has only to persevere.

The statesmen who deemed coercive measures an absolute necessity do not now propose them, although agrarian crime has rather increased and Ireland has been perturbed (so they said) by the proposal of home rule. This is a heavy blow to coercion and a marked sign of progress. I am concerned to say that on no other head do the announcements supply any causes for congratulation:

1. Large Irish subjects, ripe for treatment, are to be referred to

commissions of inquiry. This is a policy (while social order is in question) of almost indefinite delay.

2. Moreover, while a commission is to inquire whether the rates of judicial rents are or are not such as can be paid, the aid of the law for levying the present rents in November has been specialiv and emphatically promised. This is a marked discouragement to remissions of rent and a powerful stimulus to evictions.

3. A project has been sketched of imposing upon the State the payment of all moneys required to meet the difference between these actual rents and what the land can fairly bear. This project is in principle radically bad, and it would be an act of rapine on the treasury of the country.

4. Whereas the greatest evil of Ireland is that its magisterial and administrative systems are felt to be other than Irish, no proposal is made for the reconstruction of what is known as the Dublin Castle government.

5. It is proposed to spend large sums of public money on public works of all kinds for the material development of Ireland under English authority and Dublin Castle administration. This plan is (1) in the highest degree wasteful; (2) it is unjust to the British taxpayer; and (3) it is an obvious attempt to divert the Irish nation by pecuniary inducement from its honorable aim of national self-government, and will as such be resented.

6. The limitation of local government in Ireland to what may at this moment be desired for Great Britain is just to none of our nationalities, rests upon no recognized principle, and is especially an unjust limitation of the Irish national desire. In my opinion such a policy for dealing with the Irish question ought not to be and cannot be adopted.

There are at least four great cases, which have been placed on record within my memory, and in every one of which a Conservative Government, after having resisted a great proposal up to the moment immediately preceding the surrender, then became its official sponsor, and carried it into law. They are the cases of the Test Act in 1828, of the Roman Catholic Relief in 1829, of Corn Law Repeal in 1846 (when, however, Sir Robert Peel had done all in his power to throw the conduct of the question into Liberal hands), and of Extension of the Franchise in 1867.

In the last of these cases, not only had the measure been resisted, but a Liberal Government had been overthrown in the preceding year on account of a measure less extended, not indeed than the very meagre original proposal of 1867, but than the measure which, by the strength of Liberal votes, and with the sanction of the Derby-Disraeli Government, was eventually carried.

It seems extremely doubtful whether any one of these measures would have been adopted through both Houses, except under the peculiar conditions which secured for them on each occasion, both the aid of the Liberal vote in the House of Commons, and the authority of the Tory Government in the House of Lords.

One other case stands alone. The Tory chiefs of 1832, with the exception of Sir Robert Peel, fiercely resisting the Reform Bill of Lord Grey; and stopping its progress in their own familiar fortress, the House of Lords, declared themselves nevertheless willing to take charge of the question. But public indignation was too strong to permit the progress of the experiment.

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